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John Singleton Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel:*

Colonial American Status and Anglicizing Form

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John Singleton Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel*: Colonial American Status and Anglicizing Form

by

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Abstract

John Singleton Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel:*

Colonial American Status and Anglicizing Form

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In 1765, Boston artist John Singleton Copley sent *Boy with a Squirrel*—a portrait of his half-brother Henry Pelham—across the Atlantic Ocean; the painting ended up in the hands of London-based artists Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West. Because the work did not depict a patron and it was intended for an artistic audience, *Boy with a Squirrel* challenges the functionality of traditional portraiture in mid-eighteenth century colonial America. In *Boy with a Squirrel,* Copley uses form, iconography, and composition as a way to assert to his English counterparts his belonging to the London art community, showcasing his knowledge and even mastery of British and continental traditions. Copley communicates his membership in the London art public through his use through the formal lexicon of his desired audience, effectively Anglicizing his forms. While Anglicization plays a central role in the emergence of the public self in the mid-eighteenth-century American colonies, Copley's adaptation of Anglicizing forms challenges many of the standard conventions. Though the exchange of information between Britain and the American colonies was slow and incomplete, Copley would have had many different opportunities to learn about the British and continental traditions he hoped to demonstrate. The circulation of books and prints, the display of private collections, John Smibert's copies of masterworks, and the growing awareness of the Grand Tour all would have informed Copley's awareness of these British tastes

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Introduction

In the fall of 1765, John Singleton Copley boxed up a painting and gave it to Roger Hale, charging the port surveyor to deliver the portrait and a letter of instruction to Captain R.G Bruce.[1] In his letter to Captain Bruce, the Boston-based artist requested the captain to accompany the painting to "the exhibition" in London nd relay the comments made by the arbiters.[2] The portrait ended up in the hands of London-based artists Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, who entered the work in the 1766 exhibition of the London Society of Artists.[3]

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[1]In a letter to Captain R.G Bruce dated September 10, 1765, Copley writes, "I have sent You the portrait of my Brother by Mr. Hail, who has been kind so kind to take the care of it and put among his baggage." Reprinted in *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739-1776* (New York: Kennedy Graphics, 1970), 35, heretofore referred to as *Letters and Papers*. *Letters and Papers* was initially published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1914. I have chosen to retain the original orthography in all of the primary sources cited in the text.

[2]In the same September 10 letter, Copley writes, "should the picture be unfit... for *the exhibition,* I may not have the the mortification of hearing of its being condemned" (my emphasis), 35. Given the use of the definite article "the," Copley must have had a particular venue in mind. The painting ended up in the 1766 exhibition of the Society of Artists, but we must be careful not to jump to the conclusion that Copley intended his portrait for this particular exhibit, as several scholars have done.

[3]On the Society of Artists see: Matthew Hargreaves, *Candidates for Fame: The Society of Artists in Great Britain 1760-1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006) and Mark Hallett, "Reynolds, Celebrity, and the Exhibition Space," in Martin Postle, ed., *Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity* (London: Tate Publications, 2005), 36-47.

Boy with a Squirrel

The painting in question is Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel*, a finely-rendered likeness of his then fifteen-year-old half-brother Henry Pelham (Figure 1).[4] The three-quarter length portrait depicts Pelham in profile looking out to the left. He leans over a polished wood table whose highly finished surface acts as a mirror, reflecting both the boy and the objects in the scene. The table bisects the composition, originating from the center-right side and jutting out of picture plane in the lower center.

The boy bends his left arm at the elbow, resting it on the edge of the table and across his chest, a gesture that closes off the sitter from the viewer. Pelham props his right lower arm on the table and fingers a fine gold squirrel chain, grasping it between his thumb and index finger, suspending it across his palm, and dangling the end over his

[4]The literature on John Singleton Copley is immense. Primary sources include: *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739-1776*; Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A. With Notices of his Works, and Reminiscences of his Son, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord High Chancellor of Great* Britain (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1882). In his seminal work, the first modern monograph on Copley, Jules Prown deals extensively with primary sources, *John Singleton Copley* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966). Particularly successful treatments of Copley's career include: Margaretta Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Emily Ballew Neff and William L. Pressly, *John Singleton Copley in England* (London: Merrel Holberton, 1995); Carrie Rebora et al., *John Singleton Copley in America* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1995); Susan Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker: Copley and Portrait Painting around 1770," *Art Bulletin* 79:2 (June 1997): 269-290. For scholarship related to Copley, status, and Englishness, Isabel Breskin "'On the Periphery of a Greater World:' John Singleton Copley's Turquerie Portraits," *Winterthur Portfolio 36:2-3* (2001): 97-123; Maurie D. McInnis,"Cultural Politics, Colonial Crisis, and Ancient Metaphor in John Singleton Copley's Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard, " *Winterthur Portfolio* 34:2-3 (1999): 85-108; Carrie. Rebora, *John Singleton Copley and Margaret Kimble Gage: Turkish Fashion in 18th Century America (*San Diego: Putnam, 1998); Carol Troyen, "John Singleton Copley and the Grand Manner: Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk," *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 1 (1989): 96-103.

pinky. The chain runs across the table in front Pelham parallel to his left forearm and attaches to the barely visible collar of a small squirrel. The brown and white squirrel intensely works a nut, whose shell fragments litter the table in front of the rodent. The squirrel hunches over and sits in profile, mirroring the position of its depicted master.

In front of and somewhat equidistant between the squirrel and Pelham's right hand sits a small transparent glass tumbler filled half-way with a clear liquid. The surface of the glass reflects the white of his ruffled sleeve and also distorts a bit of the chain that passes behind the glass. A dark red swag hangs behind the sitter, draping from the top corners and appearing to gather behind Pelham's right shoulder.

Pelham's skin is soft, flush, and supple; he looks off into the distance in a dreamy gaze. His lips part slightly as if he is about to speak. His shiny chestnut hair is tied back, but a few errant wisps sweep over his misshapen ear and across the nape of his neck. He wears a dark overcoat with a shiny pink satin collar. His undershirt is white, but his collar is a bit crumpled. He wears a yellow vest, unbuttoned at the chest to expose the frills of his ruffled shirt. White ruffles extend out of the sleeves of his jacket.

Reception and Audience

The patronage system dominated the colonial American art market. Wealthy elites commissioned portraits, and these works almost always depicted a likeness of the patron or someone close to him. For the most part, Copley made a living by painting

portraits of these elite clients.[5] *Boy with a Squirrel* stands out from his other American works because Copley did not paint it for a patron, nor did he paint it of a patron.[6] Copley's painting is one few examples of a portrait intended not only for a private audience, but an audience comprised primarily of artists.

In the colonies, Copley had achieved the highest level of technical skill that he could obtain in the colonial northeast, as he had no teacher and limited access to the resources in order to improve. Moreover, the status of the artist in the colonies was similar to that of an artisan and not the status of the intellectual or academician that the European artist had begun to enjoy during this period. If he desired to improve his skill and elevate his status, Copley needed to leave the colonies for London, a requirement of which he was acutely aware. He famously wrote to Benjamin West or Captain Bruce:

> A taste for painting [in the colonies] is too much Wanting…was it not for preserving the resemblence of particular persons, painting would not be known in the place [the colonies]. The people generally regard it no more than any other usefull trade, as they sometimes term it, like that of a Carpenter, tailor, or shew maker, not as one of the most noble Arts in the

[5]One exception to this is another portrait Copley painted of Pelham reading by firelight from around 1760. Rebora et al. suggests that Copley painted this canvas to practice recreating the effect of fire light, a technical concern of many Italian Renaissance artists. Rebora et al., catalog entry 24, pg. 216-218.

[6]Almost every text addressing Copley's career examines *Boy with a Squirrel* in some form, including the sources cited above and numerous other studies. Few scholars have analyzed the portrait in depth. One recent treatment of is Jennifer L. Roberts, "Copley's Cargo: *Boy with a Squirrel* and the Dilemma of Transit." *American Art* 21.2 (2007): 20-41. Also, see Rebora, et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 214-219. A few sources on colonial American portraiture in the mid-eighteenth century include: Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution;* Ellen G. Miles and Richard Saunders, *American Colonial Portraits, 1700-1776* (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1987); Ellen G. Miles, ed., *The Portrait in Eighteenth-Century America* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1993).

world.[7]

By comparing the art of painting in the colonies to the artisanal trades of carpentry, shoemaking, and tailoring, Copley emphasizes his frustration with his status as an artist in the American colonies.[8]

Other works in Copley's American oeuvre evidence this desire to climb the social ladder. As Susan Rather has suggested, in pastel wedding portraits at the time of his marriage, Copley fashions himself as a member of the colonial elite, wearing the same luxurious, costly banyan in which Nicholas Boylston appeared in his portrait, also by Copley (Figures 2-4). Boylston was one of the wealthiest men in Boston. By emulating him, Copley put himself in the company of the highest elites of the Boston colonists.[9] Given his complaints and his self-portrait, it seems likely that Copley desired to elevate his status through his art in order to project his gentlemanly qualities—real or imagined—into the public sphere.

Copley had sent *Boy with a Squirrel* across the Atlantic for critique suggesting

[7]Copley in an undated letter (potentially 1767, but definitely after 1766) to Bruce or West *Letters and Papers*, 65-66.
[8]Susan Rather is the scholar most concerned with the status of the artist in colonial America. See her article, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker…" for a discussion of Copley's status. For other considerations of other American artists, see by Rather: "Painter's Progress: Matthew Pratt and *The American School*," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 28 (1993): 169-183; and "The Sign of the Painter: William Williams and the Trade of Art in Late Colonial Philadelphia," Unpublished book chapter. For status and Gilbert Stuart see, Dorinda Evans, *The Genius of Gilbert Stuart* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). For status Charles Willson Peale, see David C. Ward, *Charles Willson Peale: Art and Selfhood in the Early Republic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
[9]Susan Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker."

that he had a desire to measure his skills against his English brethren, potentially starting into motion a trip to London. If this were the case, the stakes were high for the reception of *Boy with a Squirrel.* The artist anxiously relates to Hale in his 1765 letter of introduction, "I confess I am under some apprehension of its not being so much esteem'd as I could wish.."[10] Copley would have wanted to demonstrate with *Boy with a Squirrel* not only his technical skill as a painter but also his understanding of the tenets of academic painting so as to impress upon his London cohort his membership in the academic tradition abroad.

Boy with a Squirrel becomes an a window in which we can view Copley's perception of what his European counterparts wanted to see, allowing him to showcase his knowledge and even mastery of the British and continental traditions of academic painting. However, Copley had limited access to the sources, both visual and textual, that would have informed him of these traditions. *Boy with a Squirrel* instead represents a pastiche of elements of British art theory seen through the eyes of an American attempting to express these techniques the best way he could. Copley's colonial interpretation of English form permits *Boy with a Squirrel* to function as an emblem of transatlantic exchange, articulating American perspectives of European culture. Seeking to evoke Britishness in his forms, composition, and iconography, Copley Anglicizes *Boy with a Squirrel.* As such, the portrait allows us to explore the relationship between Anglicization and status in the American colonies.

[10]Copley to Hale, in the September 10 letter.

Methodology and Outline

The first chapter of this thesis engages with the emergence of the public sphere and the place of portraiture within the development of the public individual. I seek to contextualize *Boy with a Squirrel* within the relationship between status and Anglicization as it pertains to the wider social context of 1760s colonial America.

Due to its artistic audience, the Anglicizing features in *Boy with a Squirrel* function differently from the Anglicizing features of conventional portraits of the same period. Typical commissioned portraits used material goods as a visual vocabulary to reflect the Englishness of the sitter; the implied materiality of the objects (because we cannot know if depicted goods existed in real life) communicated status.

The artistic audience of *Boy with a Squirrel* changed the role of the Anglicizing vocabulary at work in the painting. West and Reynolds would have cared little if Copley owned the goods in the portrait. Copley instead includes these material goods as a visual vehicle to demonstrate his ability to Anglicize his style. These objects attempt to demonstrate that he had the skill and the refinement of a European academic artist, not the provincial naiveté of his colonial cohort. Therefore, the first chapter of this thesis seeks to explore the intersection of consumption, status, and Anglicization and how these three concepts mediated the experience of portraiture in the development of the public self.

The relative isolation of American artists from the artistic culture of the imperial

epicenter meant that Copley did not have the same access to the artistic materials that his English peers had. Before we can undertake a discussion of how Copley demonstrated Englishness, we must examine to what Copley had access and how this information could have formed his individual conception of Englishness. As we have little direct evidence of Copley's access to art theory texts and European images, the second section of this thesis reconstructs the intellectual milieu in the colonies.

Access to art theory texts is crucial to this discussion. A few scholars have identified books on art theory circulating in the colonies, and other have looked at the letters of artists such as Copley and Charles Willson Peale to find the sources that they consulted in their work. Using bibliographic records and Copley's own words, I will reconstruct the texts circulating in Boston and how Copley could have had contact with them.

Paintings and prints were another point of access to the English and continental traditions. However, very little research has examined the influx of European works of art both on paper and in paint that existed in the colonies, how these works were displayed, and who had access to them. For example, a scholar has yet to undertake a synthesis of the primary and secondary sources of the Boston studio of John Smibert, an essential point of contact for Copley to the European tradition. In this studio, we find numerous copies of important continental works by artists such at Titan and Raphael, not to mention a steady influx of reproductive prints. An analysis of the limited research

available on Smibert's studio and of other sources of incoming art from London reveals that Copley's access to the European tradition is richer than one might expect.

The third part of this thesis discusses what lies within the frame. If Copley used *Boy with a Squirrel* to demonstrate his place within the artistic circles of London, what icons, compositions, and styles evoke Britishness? This chapter turns to a standard iconographic and formal reading of the portrait to identify the Anglicizing features of the portrait itself. Tracing the English roots of certain continental traditions back to the tenets of British academic painting allows to us understand how Copley might have communicated his mastery of Englishness in his portrait of his half-brother.

The classification of English taste in the mid-eighteenth century complicates this discussion because the highest class of English artists sought to prove their virtuosity through the adoption not of their native style but of the continental tradition. Although a taste for continental painting in England had been around for centuries, starting in the 1740s and 1750s, British tastes began to favor Italy. English and continental art theorists expressed the importance of the Italian tradition well before the moment in which Copley realized *Boy with a Squirrel.* However, the increased participation in the Grand Tour and events like the discovery of new Roman antiquities enhanced the importance of Italy in the conception of academic art in London. The British artists that served the Grand Tourists also began to follow suit, partaking themselves in the Grand Tour, often on the dime of their wealthy patrons. The sojourn to Italy became a seminal experience in the

development of the academic artist.[11]

I argue that many of the English qualities that Copley desired to emulate came from the Italian tradition. Therefore, for some of his choices—especially his use of the glass tumbler, Pelham's side profile, the use of the squirrel—Copley's demonstration of Englishness came from the Italian tradition because knowing the Italian style comprised part of the English style.

The importance of Italy would not have been lost on Copley, as American elites had begun embarking on the Grand Tour several years before *Boy with a Squirrel.*[12] Moreover, the art theory texts available to Copley made explicit reference to the importance of classical and early-modern Italy. Finally, the English and continental works of art available to Copley were primarily works by Italian artists, artists who worked in Italy, or other Great Masters associated with the Italian tradition. Copley's own access to information on English art—especially art beyond portraiture—was thus limited. The influx of contemporaneous English art was restricted to portraiture, so Copley himself had to make certain leaps between what he thought contemporaneous academic art such

[11]For the relationship between England and Italy on the Grand Tour, see Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: YUP, 2003); John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in its History and Art (*Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005).
[12]For Americans on the Grand Tour, see: Erica Hirshler, "American painters on the grand tour. The lure of Italy 1760-1870," *Magazine Antique* 142:5 (1992): 714-725; Arthur S. Marks, "Angelica Kauffmann and Some Americans on the Grand Tour," *American Art Journal* 12:2 (1980): 4-24; Jules Prown, "A Course of Antiquities in Rome, 1764," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31:1 (1997): 90-100; Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., *The Lure of Italy: American artists and the Italian experience, 1760-1914* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992); Corlette Rossiter Walker, *The Anglo-American artist in Italy, 1750-1820* (Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, 1982).

as landscapes, genre scenes, still-lifes, history paintings looked like in London.

Few of the purportedly English elements in *Boy with a Squirrel* are exclusive to Copley's work. For example, *Boy with a Squirrel* compositionally follows the tropes of American painting. The three-quarter view, the use of the table as the bottom border, the use of the red drapery in the background, the menagerie of goods in the middle-ground have precedent in colonial American portraiture. However, the inclusion of multiple compositional devices within one work and Copley's intended artistic audience for his portrait change the meaning of the iconography, composition, and form, rendering them polyvalent. In addition to their tradition meaning as symbols of status, these elements also bespeak the skill of the painter. Reading the visual vocabulary from the point of the painter, these icons, compositional devices, forms, and style communicate the full range of Copley's abilities crammed into one canvas.

The finely-rendered and highly-finished quality of the painting further transforms the significance of its elements. Copley paints Henry Pelham's likeness particularly naturalistically for his time and place. Likeness and lifelikeness were not synonymous in colonial American painting. In a portrait likeness, an artist did not depend on a true naturalistic depiction of the sitter (lifelikeness), but instead used a stock physiognomy and added general physical characteristics to identify the sitter. The way a sitter actually looked in real life mattered little in his or her painted self; instead material goods, fabrics, and costume often comprised the most finely-rendered subjects of colonial American

portraits.[13] Though Copley's skill allowed for his patrons to receive a naturalistic likeness of themselves and their material objects, the highly finished quality of the entirety of *Boy with a Squirrel* makes the painting stand out against the typical portrait in its attention to formal detail. This attention to detail changes the meaning of the iconography, composition, and style of the painting. Again, the exceptional quality of the painting pushes the traditional interpretation, allowing these common elements to also bespeak the skill of the artist and the message he wished to send his audience about himself.

Review of the Literature

The literature on Copley is dense, but most research does not address the cross-cultural flow of ideas, which composes the crux of my argument. One scholar in particular, Jennifer Roberts, has interpreted *Boy with a Squirrel* within this framework. Many of her readings of Copley's iconography are convincing, but her conclusions leave room for a polyvalent interpretation that my third chapter aspires to provide.

Roberts examines several visual elements of *Boy with a Squirrel*—the side profile, Pelham's misshapen ear, the flying squirrel, the water glass and squirrel chain—within the context of transatlantic travel. She argues that the deliberate act of sending the painting across the Atlantic informs Copley's iconography, situating the painting within a the anxiety of transatlantic transport. As a result, Copley's iconographic choices in *Boy*

[13]T.H. Breen, "The Meaning of 'Likeness': American Portrait Painting in an Eighteenth-century Consumer Society." *Word and Image* 6 (October-December 1990): 325-50, 328-329.

with a Squirrel reflect his concern with the transatlantic journey and international reception of his work.

For example, Roberts interprets Copley's choice to depict a flying squirrel as both an emblem of the American colonies (since the creature was native only to North America) and as a reference to the canvas' sea journey as a "flying squirrel" was the moniker for several types of ships passing through Boston harbor.[14] Another interpretation provided Roberts addresses Copley's use of the profile. She argues that the profile portrait recalls portrait medallions and coinage; the use of the profile then turns the painting into a type of currency, a portable object that crossed the spatio-temporal gap of the Atlantic through its circulation. Roberts links these visual cues to the popular travel narratives of the day and the rise of neo-Lockean philosophy.[15]

Her argumentation is convincing, especially within the philosophical contextualization, and hits upon some of important connections between status, anxiety, and the reception of *Boy with a Squirrel.* However, some of her conclusions, while plausible, beg a simpler explanation of the relationship between status and iconography—that is, Copley's desire to demonstrate his Englishness to his London audience. While my third chapter relies on some of the connections made by Roberts, it also provides alternate readings of Roberts' interpretations.

The work of Margaretta Lovell, specifically her book *Art in a Season of*

[14]Roberts, 25-26.
[15]Roberts, 29-30.

Revolution, has greatly aided my understanding of the nuanced function of portraiture within colonial American society. Moreover, her material culture approach seeks to situate the portrait within the historical archive as a document as opposed to just an object.

The area of the research that is particularly sparse is the material on the intellectual and visual culture of Copley's social circles. The scholarship examining the mezzotints and reproductive engravings circulating in this period is virtually non-existent, but this research proves difficult to perform as little evidence survives, though a few exhibition catalogs give me a glimpse into the possibilities. Janice Schimmelman has generated several extensive bibliographies of texts on art theory and architecture in the colonies, their locations, the year each text appears in library registries, and the city in which each copy existed. She has also done the same for imprints made in the colonies. Each of these texts has been instrumental in my recreation of the literary culture, but again, research on existing visual culture in the colonies remains elusive.

Chapter I:

Anglicization, Consumption, and the Public Sphere

In his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* Jürgen Habermas examines the differentiation of the public and private spheres in eighteenth-century France and Germany. The development of the bourgeoisie allowed for previously private individuals to participate in a public. Groups of people came together first in cafes and in other public spaces to propose and discuss different ideas generated by other members. A group of people convening intellectually in an open setting for discursive purposes constituted a "public."[16]

Michael Warner's *Letters of the Republic* takes Habermas' political theory and applies it to both the arts and colonial America. He examines the role of several genres of printed material in the years surrounding the American Revolution, tracking the relationship between the printed word and the formation of an American "public." The rise of American republicanism supported the emergence of the public sphere as it encouraged individual's participation within public discourse. Republicanism supported

[16]Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 1-26.

an active government that required the performance of civic duties by its citizens in order to maintain the balance of power. Individual participation fueled the government and thus provided the perfect space for the participation in a public body.

By extending Michael Warner's analysis into the visual arts, we can explore how the consumption of object—both portraits and the material goods depicted within them—reflected the needs of the public self.[17] Americans viewed printed materials not as direct missives from the reader, but as "normally impersonal" contact; the consumer read with an awareness of the limitless readership, i.e. a public.[18] However, Warner's printed public functioned fully in the public sphere, whereas portraits existed in the domestic sphere, a difference which changed the functionality of portraiture in its ability to reflect public persona.

Portraiture in the Domestic Sphere

Portraits existed in both the private and public spheres, a heterogeneity that

[17]Many scholars have undertaken precise etymological, philological, and historical definition of the word "public." See Habermas, 1-26; Lawrence E. Klein, "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29:1 (Fall 1995): 97-109, specifically 102-104; Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), introduction. Michael Warner, *The Republic of Letters: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), introduction.

[18]Warner, *Letters,* xiii. It is not uncommon to group the visual and literary arts in considerations of the political and economic development in the eighteenth century. Both Pierre Bourdieu and Jürgen Habermas group these two arts together in their major works. See, Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed., Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), see "Part I The Field of Cultural Production."

extends to the space in which they hung.[19] The immobility of a portrait and its material singularity renegotiated how the visual document transmitted status to a public. Though portraits could be moved from home to home and within different rooms, the painted portrait was normally relegated to a room and communicated only to those within this specific location. Portraits, however, still projected the status of the depicted to a much smaller, controlled public.

Public discourse occurred within the domestic sphere, and the domestic sphere accommodated these discourses. Men invited their compatriots into their homes to discuss public matters together, reaching conclusions and posing challenges that were then brought into the larger public discourse at hand.[20] As such, these groups constituted a public by both Habermas' and Warner's definitions.[21] The hierarchy of space in new domestic architecture, with the receiving rooms such as the parlor or the salon containing

[19]Many scholars have undertaken the differentiation between public, private, and domestic space; however, almost no scholarship considers how art functioned in the domestic sphere. One example that addresses this role of art in the home is Malcolm Baker, "Public Images for Private Spaces? The Place of Sculpture in the Georgian Domestic Interior," *Journal of Design History* 20:4 (2007): 309-322, 321. While this study examines sculpture in Georgian homes it England, Baker provides a general discussion of art in the domestic sphere.

[20]Baker, 316-321; Jennifer Kross, "Mansions, Men, Women, and Creation of Multiple Publics in Eighteenth-Century British America," *Journal of Social History* 33:2 (1999): 385-408; Robert Blair St. George, "Reading Spaces in Eighteenth Century New England" in John Styles and Amanda Vickery eds*,Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830,* 81-105 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Amy H. Henderson, "A Family Affair: The Design and Decoration of 321 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia," in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830,* 267-291. Women also had their own codified set of behavior in the accession of the public sphere, but this discussion primarily concern the behavior of men, as the sets of behaviors for establishing the public self differed between the sexes.

[21]For a discussion of the domestic public, see especially Klein, "Gender" and Kross.

the most material goods and being most accessible, facilitated the appropriate accommodation for this public discourse.[22] The front receiving rooms allowed for the "slippage" between public and private in the domestic sphere—or, in other terms, a heterogeneity of space.[23] The home, then, existed partly of the public sphere and was thus an appropriate place for projections of the self.

Portraits hung in these public rooms, encouraging the absorption of their content by the participants during discussion. The combined actions of convening, discussing, and looking resulted in a multisensory connection between status and space. The architectural space of the room compounded this projection by further connecting the space of discourse back to the host since the space was in fact his own possession. Finally, the portrait visually reinforced the persona projected through discourse and culminated in a visual, verbal, and spatial intersection of one's status within a public space.[24]

The way in which these domestic publics viewed portraits also encouraged active engagement with the inner qualities of the depicted. Portraits were grouped together in sets within the receiving rooms. Patrons expected artists to create subtle stylistic

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[22] See Henderson; St. George; Kross.

[23]I borrow the word "slippage" from Malcolm Baker whose above-cited article is one of the only pieces of scholarship that addresses the reception of art in domestic spaces.

[24]Bernard Herman examines the intersection of space, time, and senses as mediated by objects. He examines the tabletop as a metaphoric field of social play that "strategically enabled assertions of self as an actor, witness, judge, through the deployment of objects." Bernard L. Herman, "Tabletop Conversations: Material Culture and Everyday Life in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," *Gender, Taste, and Material,*37-59, esp. 42.

continuity and harmony between new portraits and the ones already hanging in the same space, a harmony that articulated an interrelationship between portraits.[25] This continuity between sets of portraits extended to their inscriptions. Newer portraits often contained inscriptions that complemented existing examples, playing with words and literary devices. The interplay between form and inscription encouraged the viewer move between portraits in order to ascertain the formal and ancestral relationships between them.[26] Through this interrelated viewing, portraits projected messages of enduring power, dynasty, and political affiliation.[27] Therefore, the passive and active viewing experience encouraged the members of the domestic public to fully engage with the public status of the sitter, further enhancing the power of the portrait to communicate status.

Material Goods in the Public Sphere

The objects depicted in the frame of an American portrait said as much about the sitter's status as where the portrait was hung and how it was received. The sitter of a portrait found himself surrounded by an array objects of luxury, such a fashionable costume, lavish fabrics, fancy furniture, and the bric-à-brac of the quotidian existence of the elite. The more lavish these objects, however, the less likely they were made in the

[25] John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 239.
[26]Kate Retford, "Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteenth-Century English Country House," in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture,* 315-344, especially 331.
[27] Retford, 315; Baker, 316

colonies. Because of an increase in the importation and consumption of English-made goods and the intense anxiety about status that plagued colonists, the ownership and display of English-made goods became a signifier of social standing in the colonies.

The conferral of status onto the possession of English goods had its roots in colonization. Ownership of English goods appealed to the desire for a transatlantic continuity of culture. Through the consumption of the culture of the mother country, the colonist on the periphery was able to develop a common cultural identity and a feeling of being integrated fully into the British Empire. Pride of ownership meant pride of being part of the whole.[28] The colonization of taste meant that the process of Americanization had to occur through Anglicization.[29] Moreover, social status was not static and resulted in an intense anxiety about social position; this anxiety led to frantic consumption by the upper classes in the American colonies in order to mitigate feelings of social instability.[30] Consumption of English goods gave a competitive advantage to the middle and upper class in the eighteenth-century American colonies.[31]

While in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries colonists had readily consumed English-manufactured products, the American consumption of English imports

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[28]Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 108-109.
[29] T.H. Breen, ""An Empire of Good: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25:4 (1986): 467-499, 497.
[30]Breen, T. H. "The Meaning of 'Likeness,'" 329.
[31]Paul Staiti, "Character and Class," in Carrie Rebora et all, *John Singleton Copley in America*, 53-77 (New York: Harry Abrams, 1995).

rose exponentially beginning in the 1740s.[32] In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, English manufacturing grew to include smaller objects of lesser quality meant for middle class consumption in both Britain and her colonies.[33] Quotidian use of such objects as English cloth, ceramics, glass, paperware, and cutlery drastically changed the nature of day-to-day life in colonial America.[34] The demand was high: John McCusker and Russell Menard in their seminal economic study suggest that well-to-do families in the colonies spent more than one quarter of their incomes purchasing English goods.[35]

The economic shift toward greater consumption of English goods reflects the emerging public sphere. Advertisements in colonial newspapers hawked newly arrived items: in any given year in the 1760s, more than 4,000 items appeared in print, each description broken down by color and style.[36] The range of forms and patterns of goods led to the development of a completely new vocabulary in print.[37] This new language united American consumers with a common system of experience, a public of consumption and a universality of goods.[38] Measures like the Stamp Act, which addressed

[32]Breen, "An Empire of Goods," 486; For the statistical analysis of consumption, see Bernard Bailyn, "1776: A Year of Challenge—A World Transformed," *Journal of Law and Economics* 19 (1976): 437-66.
[33]Terrence H. Witkowski, "Colonial Consumers in Revolt: Buyer Values and Behavior during the Nonimportation Movement, 1764-1776,"*Journal of Consumer Research* 16:2 (1989):216-226, 219.
[34]Witkowski, 220.
[35]John McCusker and Russell Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1985).
[36]Breen, "An Empire of Goods," 496.
[37]Hunter, 152.
[38] Breen, "An Empire of Goods," 496.

the conflict of the colonial American regarding the consumption of English goods while desiring political sovereignty, furthered the integration of consumption into the public sphere as it fostered an open discourse on the consumer culture and gave colonists the ability to communicate across social boundaries.[39] Through their advertisement in the same public venues used for republican discourse, goods participated in the democratization of language in this period.

Moreover, the public display of goods pushed consumption into the public sphere via the development of the store displays in establishments selling British imports. Goods became objects to be visually consumed on a public stage before their private purchase. Window displays functioned on a similar sensory level as the portrait. The careful display and arrangement of goods into a bordered space not only visually transmitted semiotic signifiers of status to the public, but also the materiality of goods themselves—a materiality not present in print advertisement. The displays visually reinforced the potential benefits of possessing and displaying such goods to the class-conscious consumer, while simultaneously projecting the status of the possessors to a wider, unknown public.[40]

Anglicization and Status

The implications of an economy rooted in English manufacture led to goods

[39]Witkowski, 220-224.
[40] Hunter, 112-113.

becoming semiotically charged. Portrait painters imbedded their works with these signifiers of status through the inclusion of British goods within the picture plane. Surrounding oneself with English-made goods and with English fashions while in poses common in English portraits points to the process of Anglicization through consumption. The study of Anglicization has its roots in linguistics, where components of foreign languages are modified into the phonetic and syllabic systems of English in order to make the terms more comprehensible to English speakers. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the Anglicization of foreign surnames during the mass immigration to the United States helped to fashion an Anglo-American identity for the immigrant. Anglicizing one's surname allowed an outsider to participate in a larger cultural system by reconfiguring one's identity to match the dominant culture s/he wanted to enter. In this system, societal integration depended on the participation in the varying structural institutions of the dominant culture.[41]

In the American colonies, the Anglicization of the individual occurred through the adoption of the English language of bodily comportment and customs of English civility.[42] Despite being an ocean away from their originating culture, colonial Americans

[41]For the sociolinguistics of the Anglicization of surnames, see for example Joseph G. Fucilla, "The Anglicization of Italian Surnames in the United States," *American Speech* 18:3 (1941): 26-32. The process of Anglicization and the subsequent de-Anglicization in the Irish and Scottish pushes for independence is particularly relevant here. See: Keith M. Brown, "The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-1638." *The Historical Journal* 16:3 (1993): 543-576; Laura O'Conner, *Haunted English: The Celtic Fringe, the British Empire, and De-Anglicization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

[42]For a discussion of Anglicization in the colonies, see John M. Murrin, *Anglicizing and an American Colony: The Transformation of Provincial Massachusetts* (PhD diss., Yale University,

sought to behave within the codes of bodily control that governed civility in England.[43] Upholding the mores of the mother culture had roots in colonization and the ability for the periphery to relate to epicenter. To be elite meant that being in the colonies did not change one's imagined life and status in England and that one could still participate in the dominant culture even though knowledge came at a much higher cost.

In order to partake in a set of British behaviors, manners, and customs, the colonist also needed the accoutrements of the British elite. For example, Americans often drank tea following the codified rules of the British tea ritual. To actualize this ritual, the colonist needed to possess high quality ceramics that could contain very hot liquids. The need for English goods therefore had both functional and metaphoric meanings. The colonist needed to own the British-made tea service to participate in an Anglicizing ritual, while the act of owning a British-made item reinforced the sociological function of participating in the ritual itself. The act of the English tea ritual integrated the colonist into the larger cultural systems of the British Empire.[44]

Material goods, then, became facilitators of the Anglicizing of identity in the New World. Colonists not only articulated their Englishness through their ownership of English-made goods, but also by swathing themselves in English fabrics and decorating

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1966); James Deetz, *In Small Thing Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, NY: 1977).

[43]On British codes of politeness, see Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45:4 (2002): 869-898. On manners in colonial America, see Peter N. Stearns, "Middle Class Rising in Revolutionary America: The Evidence from Manners," *Journal of Social History* 30:2 (1996): 317-344.

[44]Witkowski, 220. T.H. Breen, "Empire of Goods," 496-97.

their homes with English-made furniture. The home became a stage set for the performance of Englishness.[45] Social standing in the colonies hinged upon the public performance of a set of rituals that communicated one's membership in the dominant culture. Therefore, the Anglicization of behavior and the resulting consumption of goods to facilitate this performance helped codify a language that expressed status. The role of facilitator played by objects resulted in the conferral of status onto English-made goods. Material goods communicated a public identity of Englishness that the sitter wished to project to the public.

The depiction of goods in portraits compounded the public display of wealth. Portraits captured the entire performance of Englishness. Established poses communicated knowledge of and adherence to the language of English comportment, while the display of English objects demonstrated ownership of the English objects needed to be British and also signified that the sitter participated in the prescribed rituals like tea service, book-learning, and writing. British costume compounded the performance of Britishness by literally hiding their Americanness under Britishness. Finally, the use of British tropes of painting such the composition, style, and iconography of English portraits demonstrated a final Anglicizing ritual of the British elite—the commissioning of a portrait in the dominant style.

The act of commissioning a portrait held extra social capital. Unlike

[45]For a discussion on the domestic interior as a stage set for social performance, see Herman, 37-59.

silversmithing where silver held actual monetary value in its materiality, portraits were investments that held little inherent value. The material value of their parts—paint, canvas, and frame—in no way reflected the high price that the patron paid for the portrait.[46] Moreover, portraits recreated likenesses of individuals, severely limiting their resale value as objects of art. The portrait communicated in its existence that the patron possessed enough wealth to purchase something of only sentimental value, compounding the status projected in the depiction of material goods.

The portrait, then, is emblem of Anglicization: multiple facets of the performance of Englishness coalesce into one potent symbol of wealth, status, and membership in the dominant culture. The artist's role in this system of goods and status was that of the translator who turned abstract concepts of public identity into visual language consumable by all.

Copley's portraits uphold the language of commerce. As Paul Staiti has noted, Copley's portraits serve as biographies of status in both the depiction of bodily comportment and the depiction of material goods.[47] His *Mary and Elizabeth Royal* (1758), for example, is both a portrait of two girls and a portrait of textiles, one of the

[46]In Europe, thanks to the rise of collectionism in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, the value of art relied on the fame of the artist, even a portrait if collectors revered the artist. The patron could theoretically sell his investment because another collector would purchase the piece based alone on the status of the artist. See Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet, "Pricing Invention: 'Originals,' 'Copies,' and their Relative Values in 17th Century Netherlandish Art Markets," in Victor A. Ginsburgh and Menger, eds., *Economics of the Arts* (Amsterdam: Elsener, 1996), 27-70; and Genevieve Warwick, *The Arts of Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawing in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[47]Staiti, "Character and Class," 55-58.

most status-bearing imports from England (Figure 5). In addition to goods, Copley's brush paints highly individualized likenesses of the two girls; his mastery of bodily form enabled him to fashion the girls in poses that invoke the codes of bodily comportment popular at the time.[48] In this regard, Copley's use of the iconography of commerce conformed to standard of contemporaneous portraiture.

Boy with a Squirrel: Iconography and Autobiography

Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel* uses goods similarly to a conventional portrait—to demonstrate that the sitter belonged in the English elite through the universality of goods. He surrounds his sitter with the accoutrements of the wealthy to demonstrate his participation in the empire of consumption. His choice to paint Pelham wearing fine fabrics, possessing the squirrel and owing his expensive chain elevate the status of both the sitter and his family, including Copley.[49] As a depiction of his kin, *Boy with a Squirrel* serves as an quasi-autobiographical document of Copley's public self.[50]

Moreover, because Copley sent *Boy with a Squirrel* to London for exhibition, he did not paint the portrait for consumption by a patron in the domestic sphere, but instead for an unknown artist public. In fact, the Society of Artists was a Habermasian public in itself—a group dedicated to furthering a discussion of academic art. *Boy with a Squirrel,*

[48]Carrie Rebora et all, Catalog Entry 10, 182-183.
[49]See Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker," for this discussion of Copley's status as an artist, his desire to elevate his status, and the creation of his auto-biographical portraits of others.
[50]Warner, *Letters,* Chapter 3, esp. 77-79.

then, reflects Copley's own status within this public because the document participates in an artistic discourse within an unknown public.[51]

The objects in the painting have a secondary function, as *Boy with a Squirrel* transcends this typical mode of communication through Copley's execution of Anglicizing form and style. The squirrel's delicate fur, the transparency of the glass, the refraction of objects through water, and the luminous, finely-woven metalwork of the chain provided ample opportunity for Copley to exercise his virtuosity in representing diverse surfaces. His knowledge of surfaces demonstrate his attempt to depict what he thought were British techniques of painting. Therefore, the goods are not the central semiotic signifiers of status. The form and style expressed through these goods instead serve as a vehicle for Copley to demonstrate Englishness.

Copley's understanding of authorship in *Boy with a Squirrel* reflects his consciousness of his personal identity and how that personal identity interacted with his projected persona in the public sphere. By combining both private and public languages of vision, he redefines the functionality of the painted object, taking the anglicized good and making it an anglicizing icon. By speaking in the anglicizing language of form through the anglicized language of iconography, Copley is able to effectively communicate his membership and active participation within a public discourse of the visual arts.

[51]See Roberts.

Chapter II:

Recreating Copley's Intellectual Milieu

The public act of consumption allowed the colonial American to create a public persona within the public sphere. In order for these acts to properly communicate within a public, the public had to have a collective knowledge base. The ownership of knowledge facilitated the participation in the creation of the public self.

Colonists articulated their public self through participation in debates in print and in person. Though many of these debates sought to differentiate the American colonist from their British colonizers, the possession of a common knowledge base of both English and American rhetoric facilitated this public discourse.

The act of public consumption as a means of elevated status required the ownership of knowledge in a similar manner. The colonist needed a knowledge of English taste and the social capital of these tastes in order to ascertain what goods to consume and what those material goods signified. Moreover, for goods to become signifiers of the elevated public self, the knowledge of English culture had to be shared

by the public to whom the individual hoped to project his public self. The acquisition of knowledge itself had become a public act.

Copley's accession of knowledge as means to participate within his artistic public functions slightly differently given the international nature of his intended audience. In order to actively communicate his Englishness as part of his public persona, Copley relied on English and continental artistic tropes. This again required an underlying knowledge shared across a public to both employ and receive signifiers of status, in this case tropes of painting.

Given the underlying importance of the accession of public knowledge in the participation and the articulation of one's membership in a public, this chapter seeks to examine the knowledge base required of Copley to have known of these of English forms, compositions, and iconography. In order to argue that Copley used English forms, we must ascertain whether or not he could have possibly known about them in the colonies. Little first-hand knowledge of Copley's encounters with art theory texts exists, and none exists before the creation of *Boy with a Squirrel.* Though this lack of primary documentation does not preclude Copley's contact with the proper sources, it does complicate the task of arguing for his knowledge.

In place of first hand information, this chapter explores the channels in which Copley might have had contact with European art and theory. The goal of this chapter is two-fold, first seeking to prove Copley's deliberate employment of English forms,

iconography, and composition and secondly seeking to fill a hole in the scholarship. Few scholars address the existence of European art culture in the colonies and those who do rarely provide a comprehensive cataloging of the sources available.

In addition to textual sources, I seek to examine the visual sources available to Copley. While visual materials such as paintings and prints provide less explicit artistic guidelines, Copley's access to them would have reinforced the importance of European culture and would have provided visual models for the information encountered in the textual sources. From a synthesis of the visual and textual sources available and Copley's mode of access to them, we find that despite the slow transmission of objects and ideas between London and the colonies, Copley still had exposure to documents—both images and texts. Surprisingly, his access especially to visual materials was particularly rich and would have greatly helped to inform his understanding of English art culture.

The reconstruction the information available to Copley is an indirect line of argumentation—we have no idea if Copley accessed these sources or had an impetus to seek them out. We are left to assume that not only were these ideas available to Copley, but that he also actively sought them out. I do not believe that this leap in logic is difficult to make. As a social climber with well-documented anxiety about status, Copley, like the Boston elite, wanted to keep abreast of trends and ideas in England. The adaptation of English styles and attitudes held social capital, with the possession of English goods serving as the physical symbol of this knowledge. In addition to yearning

for membership in the colonial elite, Copley's intense desire for acceptance by the English art community would have also compelled him to accumulate as much knowledge of English art theory and work of art as possible. Therefore, Copley had dual motivations for his consumption of English goods and attitudes—both social and professional.

Copley and Art Theory Texts: Direct Contact

The most concrete evidence of Copley's contact with these documents lies in his letters to Henry Pelham, in which he makes reference to several art theory texts he had consulted. Analyses of these texts prove at times problematic, however, because Copley does not make mention to the theory texts until after the completion of *Boy with a Squirrel.* Moreover, all but one of the texts cited by Copley show up in Boston after 1766 (Table 1).[52]

In a letter to Pelham dated October 22, 1771. Copley writes to his half-brother, "I have not been able to ascertain at what time Vandyck went to England. Du Fresnoy and Depile are entirely silent. Walpole amidst all of his exactness has neglected to give us a date."[53] Here Copley refers to Roger de Piles' *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres* (1699),

[52] The following discussion of texts available in Boston relies heavily on an index of the collections of booksellers and libraries compiled by Janice G. Schimmelman, *Books on Art in Early America: Books on Art, Aesthetics and Instruction Available in American Libraries and Bookstores through 1815* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2007). All references to eighteenth-century catalogs from hereon come from Schimmelman, unless otherwise mentioned. When I use any of Schimmelman's research beyond bibliographic data, I reference here as such.

[53] Copley Pelham Letters, 170. Copley also mentions reading Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of*

translated as *The Art of Painting and Lives of Painters* (1706).[54] An advertisement the *Boston Gazette* places the 1706 edition of de Piles' work for sale in Boston on November 30, 1762.[55] Therefore, Copley could have accessed *The Art of Painting and Lives of Painters* well before creating *Boy with a Squirrel,* making de Piles' text a central source for the question of the European influence on Copley.

Copley also mentioned several other texts, but their existence in Boston before 1765 is speculative. Copley's earliest mention of an art theory text comes from a letter to Benjamin West. He writes on November 12, 1766 requesting West to"…be kind anough to inform me what Count Allgarotti means by the five points that he recommends for amusement and to assist in the invention of postures…"[56] "Count Allgarotti" refers to Italian philosopher and art critic Francesco Algarotti, whose *Saggio sopra la Pittura*

Painting in England...(Strawberry-Hill: Thomas Farmer, 1762), but there is no mention of this text in the record until 1773, where it appears in Harvard's catalog.

[54] Schimmelman 257. Roger de Piles's *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres* (Paris, 1699); translated as *The Art of Painting and the Lives of Painters*... (London: J. Nutt, 1706). Schimmelman, however, believes that Copley could have also been referring to de Piles' *Cours de Peinture par Principes* (Paris: Jacques Estienne,1708), translated as *The Principles of Painting*...(London: J. Osborn, 1743). Armory, 170, notes in her annotation of the 1771 letter that Copley could only be referring to *Art of Painting*. Though I am inclined to believe Schimmelman, *Principles* does not show up in the records until 1770 and Copley mentions the timeline of van Dyck's painting career, which leads me to believe that he would have likely been reading *Art of Painting*, which details the life of van Dyck on page 305 of the 1706 edition. De Piles' *The Principles of Paintings* first shows up in the records the Charleston (SC) Library Society's catalog in 1770 and shows up in Boston in the catalog for booksellers Edward Cox & Edward Berry in 1772.

[55] De Piles' *The Art of Painting and the Lives of Painters* shows up in the *Boston Gazette*, November 30, 1761. George Francis Dow, *The Arts & Crafts of New England, 1704-1775* (Topsfield, MA: Wayside Press, 1927), 222, brought this citation to light in the scholarship; Schimmelman, 144.

[56] *Letters and Papers*, 51-52

(1762) was translated into English as *An Essay on Painting* in 1764.[57] Though Copley mentions Algarotti's text in 1766—one year after his completion of *Boy with a Squirrel*—a catalog places the work in the American colonies by 1765 in Philadelphia.[58] This listing of Algarotti's treatise locates the book in the northeastern colonies, but does not provide evidence for Copley's access to these sources. However, the knowledge that the text had made it to America at least raises the possibility that it could have existed in Boston before its first listing in 1766.[59] Algarotti also dedicated his text to the Society of Arts, which, although different from the Society of Artists to which West belonged, would have piqued Copley's interest if he wanted to demonstrate his knowledge of Englishness in *Boy with a Squirrel*—Algarotti would have appeared to be the approved text by the academic art institutions in London.

The context in which Copley contemplates Algarotti's work is of particular interest: Copley does not merely mention reading the text, but demonstrates an earnest attempt to understand the contents and queries West for a clarification. He wants to paint like an Englishman, but still a year after *Boy with a Squirrel* he demonstrates his lack of comprehension of the text. Through this passage, we see that Copley attempts to master European techniques through reading art theory, but his request for assistance points to his struggle and helps explain Copley's inaccuracies in his attempts to execute these

[57] Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio Sopra la Pittura* (Livorno: Marco Coltellini, 1763). The earliest publication in English is *An Essay on Painting* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1764).
[58] Algarroti, *An Essay on Painting* appears the catalog of the Association Library Company, *A Catalog of Books, Belonging to the American Library Company of Philadelphia* (1765), 22, 52.
[59] The first mention in Boston comes from Mein, *Catalog*...(1766), 34.

principles in *Boy with a Squirrel*.

In the October 22 letter, Copley also refers to Charles du Fresnoy's *L'Art Peinture* (1668), translated into English as *De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting* (1695).[60] Du Fresnoy's text existed in Philadelphia in 1752. The text also also shows up in Newport in 1764, but the earliest confirmation of du Fresnoy in Boston is again in 1766.[61] We do not have this text in Boston before *Boy with a Squirrel*, but the multiple listings of du Fresnoy in the northeast increases the probability that this text existed in Boston before its first listing.[62]

Copley's final mention of an art theory text comes from a letter to Pelham on March 14, 1775 in which Copley muses, "the Second instance in which Raphael has shewn in his refined way of thinking is in his Cartoon of Paul and Barnabus. But as Webb has menshoned this perticularly, I shall refer you to his discription of it."[63] Daniel Webb's *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* (1762) surfaced first in Philadelphia in the collections of several libraries and booksellers, with the first mention being in 1760 on a broadside by bookseller William Bradford. Again, the first instance of Webb comes to us

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[60] Charles du Fresnoy's *L'Art Peinture* (Paris: Nicolas L'Anglois,1668); translated into English as *De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting* (London: Printed by W. Rogers for J. Heptinstall , 1695).
[61] The Newport listing appears in the Redwood Library Company *Catalog* (1764), 17. The Boston listing is Mein, *Catalog*...(1766), 32. An "Invoice of Books for the Library Company of Philadelphia Shipt On Board the Peak Bay Captain Stirling August 22, 1752," locates du Fresnoy in Philadelphia in 1752; the invoice is addressed to Benjamin Franklin, from William Strahan in London and can be found in Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1961), 4:353; see Schimmelman 77-78.
[62]Du Fresnoy also shows up in the Philadelphia Library Company *Catalog* (1757), 93.
[63] *Letters and Papers,* 303.

from the 1766 catalog of John Mein.[64]

Copley mentions Webb years after *Boy with Squirrel* after Copley had left the colonies for England, limiting the usefulness of the reference. However, the context in which he discusses it with Pelham does suggest Copley's contact with the text in the colonies. Promising his half-brother a reference for Webb's discussion of Raphael indicates that Pelham had the book in his possession in Boston and likely inherited it from Copley upon his transatlantic relocation. This means that Copley had the text in the colonies before his departure.

The absence of these texts from the Boston catalogs does not disqualify them as potential sources for Copley, as the Boston records are likely incomplete. Library and bookseller catalogs securely place only 4 art theory texts in Boston by the time Copley painted *Boy with a Squirrel,* but bookseller John Mein offers more than 9 titles less than a year later. Of the 27 art theory treatises available in the American colonies by 1765, Janice G. Schimmelman found only 4 in Boston before the 1766 Mein listing. By contrast, in Philadelphia, the records indicate that 26 of these 27 texts on art theory circulated through 1765.[65] As Boston and Philadelphia were major urban centers in the

[64] Webb, *An Inquiry in the Beauties of Painting…* is listed on a broadside by bookseller William Bradford, *William Bradford, Printer, Bookseller, and Stationer, at his Store…*(Philadelphia: 1760). In Boston, Mein, *Catalog* (1766).

[65]The only four texts documented in Boston before 1766 were: William Salmon's *Polygraphice; or the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring, and Dying…* (London: E.T. & R.H. for Richard Jones, 1672), sold by bookseller Samuel Gerrish in 1719; Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: Printed for R. & J Dodsley, 1757), first available in Philadelphia by William Bradford, listed in his *A Catalog of Books* (1760); available in Boston by Mein (1775);

1760s, it is unlikely that these cities would have exhibited such a disparity in available texts. Simply more of Philadelphia's records must survive.

Copley's reading history further supports that he could have had access to these texts before they were officially listed: in the same 1771 letter that Copley mentions de Piles, he also notes reading Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762), but there is no mention of this text in the record until 1773, when it appears in Harvard's *Catalog*.[66] Therefore, it appears entirely possible for Copley to have acquired art theory texts even if the record does not place them in Boston until 1766.

Other Theory Texts in Boston

In addition to texts Copley explicitly mentions in his letters, many other texts circulated around the northeast. The four texts available before 1766 were William Salmon's *Polygraphice; Or the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring, and Dying…* (1672), William Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times* (1713), and Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757). The sources

William Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* (London: J. Reeves, 1753), sold by bookseller Jeremy Condy in 1760; and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times* (London, 1713), sold by John Mein in 1765. See Schimmelman 229, 227, and 233.

[66]Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (Strawberry-Hill: Thomas Farmer, 1762). Walpole's listing is in Harvard College Library's *Catalog* (1773), 26.

immediately available to Copley were Shaftesbury, Burke and Hogarth. An invoice documents the purchase and receipt of *An Analysis Beauty* in Boston for bookseller Jeremy Condy in 1760, while Mein advertised Shaftesbury and Burke in 1765.[67] A bookseller listed Salmon's work in 1719, which suggests the book had long been available and would have been part of the intellectual memory by the 1760s.[68]

Salmon's text would have particularly interested colonial painters because it focused specifically on portraiture, whereas the more academic texts, such as de Piles, du Fresnoy, and Algarotti eschewed discussions of portraiture in lieu genres considered more intellectual. The entire first book of *Polygraphice* outlines the benefits of creating portraits, comparing them to the antique tradition. Salmon also gives step-by-step instructions to creating naturalistic and well-proportioned figures. This text would have served as an essential handbook for any artist in the colonies. The second book also instructs the artist how to paint just about any inanimate object in a portrait, from drapery to birds to fruit. The fourth book of *Polygraphice* then goes on to catalog ancient depictions of various antique myths and gods. Therefore this text was not only available

[67]Hogarth: The New York Library Society's 1758 *Catalog* places Hogarth in the colonies for the first time. In an invoice dated December 19, 1760 from J. Richardson aboard the "Hawke," to Jeremy Condy documents the Boston bookseller's receipt of Hogarth's *An Analysis of Beauty*; see Schimmelman, 106; Harriet Silvester Tapley, *Salem Imprints 1768-1825: History of the First Fifty Years of Printings in Salem* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1927), 236, first brings attention to this letter. Shaftesbury: John Mein listed Shaftesbury in his 1765 catalog. Benjamin Franklin had the earliest advertised printing of Shaftesbury in 1744 in his *A Catalog of Choice and Valuable Books.*

[68]The first reference to Salmon is in bookseller Samuel Gerrish's 1719 *A Catalogue of Curious and Valuable Books…*

to Copley, but it also possessed the capacity to educate the artist on what to paint and how to paint it.

Because the records are scant in Boston before 1766, it is also helpful to look at the tomes published the years immediately following the completion of *Boy with a Squirrel's* (Table 2). If these texts were available close to 1765 and they were also available in Philadelphia several years earlier, it is possible that these texts existed in Boston before their listing date. In Mein's 1766 advertisements, he lists several texts besides Algarotti, du Fresnoy, Shaftesbury, and Webb. In addition, Mein sold Carington Bowles, *The Art of Painting in Water-Colours* ([2nd ed.], 1775); Robert Dossie, *The Handmaid to the Arts* (1758); Jean Baptiste Dubos, *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting, and Music* (1748); Henry Homes Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism* (1762); and John Smith, *The Art of Painting in Oyl* (1676).[69] Copley potentially had consulted these texts as well. Because the connection to these last texts is particularly tenuous, I limit my analysis to the texts closer to Copley, though I feel it is relevant to mention these texts for the sake of completeness.

[69]Schimmelman, 233. Carington Bowles, *The Art of Painting in Water-Colours* ([2nd ed.] London: T. Kitchen, 1775); first for sale in New York City by Garrat Knowles, *A Catalog of Books* (1762); in Boston in Mein *Catalog* (1766). Robert Dossie, *The Handmaid to the Arts*… (London: Printed for J. Nourse, 1758); available first in Philadelphia by James Rivington in *A Catalog of Books, Lately Imported* (1760); available in Boston by Mein (1766). Jean Baptiste Dubos, *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting, and Music* (London: Printed for John Nourse, 1748); available first in Boston, Mein (1766). Henry Homes Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism* (London: Printed for A. Miller, 1762); first available in Mein (1766). John Smith, *The Art of Painting in Oyl* (London: Printed for Samuel Crouch, 1676); first available in Boston by Mein (1766).

Visual Sources

Copley had access to visual sources for English and European art in Boston as well. While not as numerous as in London, mezzotint engravings and traditional copperplate engravings circulated among the elite in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Corresponding with the general influx of English imports, the 1750s saw an increase in the circulation of British-made prints, with Boston leading in the their importation and sale.[70] Notices from the *Boston Gazette* from the end of the 1750s through the 1760s advertised prints by the bundle, calling particular attention to works by Hogarth.[71] One such example of these events was Rivington & Miller's enormous sale of European prints advertised in the *Boston News-Letter* in 1762.[72] For many years, London agent Robert Sayers was the sole supplier of prints for cities like Charleston, Williamsburg, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. As a result, the selection in each of the cities varied little.

The colonial American taste for prints varied. Among contemporary English engravings, portraits of aristocrats and royals, landscapes, hunting scenes, and battle scenes most attracted American consumers. They also liked sets of works, such as series

[70]Joan Dolmetsch, "European Prints in Eighteenth-Century America," *Antiques* 101 (1972): 858-863, 858.
[71]Joan Dolmetsch, "Colonial Prints: Supply and Demand," in John D. Morse, ed., *Prints in and of America to 1850*, preceding of the Sixteenth Annual Winterthur Conference, 1970, 53-74 (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1970), 54-55.
[72]*The Boston News-Letter*, April 23, 1762. The event took place at the London Bookstore in Boston. Frederick A. Sweet, "Mezzotint Sources of American Colonial Portraits,"*Art Quarterly* 14: 2 (1951): 148–57, 152.

depicting the elements, the months, the seasons, and the sciences. Reproductions of famous Old Master paintings were also desirable.[73]

Just like any other object of English manufacture, the elite purchased these prints to adorn their homes and to elevate their status via their publicly demonstrated knowledge of Englishness. Sometimes elites would fill entire walls of their receiving rooms with framed prints to publicly showcase their collections. Henry Vassal of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for example, amassed 33 mezzotints on glass and 51 works on paper.[74] Not only does this indicate a high rate of circulation and consumption of prints in the colonies, but the collections of men like Vassal point to another means in which Copley could have seen these images—in private collections. Again, as he had married into the Boston elite and collectors intended their prints to be seen, Copley would have had access to such objects even if he did not own them himself.

Colonial artists and artisans relied on design models from England to make their domestic-made goods appear similar to the styles in England. American artists, silversmiths, cabinetmakers, and other artisans worked out of English-printed pattern books in order to mimic the desired English styles.[75] Prints also served an important function in the production of arts and crafts in the New World. The earliest American artists relied heavily on imported mezzotint engravings of English paintings. A series of portraits from the mid-1690s in New York demonstrates this mode of production. The

[73]Dolmetsch. "European Prints," 858-9; 863.
[74]Dolmetsch, "European Prints," 863.
[75] Sweet, 148. For an overview of this practice in painting, see Lovell, Chapter 3.

portraits of *John van Cortlandt* and of *Boy in the De Peyster Family* display nearly identical iconography and compositions (Figs. 6-7). The common source of these portraits lies in a mezzotint by esteemed artist Godfried Kneller (Fig. 8).[76] German by birth, Kneller worked for King Charles II as the Principal Painter to the English Crown after Peter Lely's death in 1680, becoming one of the most important portrait painters in England. While scholars agree that Copley must have employed these English models regularly, they have only definitively connected one of Copley's portraits to its mezzotint source. In his portrait of *Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers* (1763), Copley copies Joshua Reynold's portrait of *Lady Caroline Russell* (1759), known through an engraving by James McArdell (Fig. 9-10).[77]

Copley had exposure to reproductive mezzotints even as a young boy. His stepfather Peter Pelham studied under the second-best mezzotint engraver in London, John Simon.[78] Though Pelham only made sixteen mezzotints that we know of in his twenty-four years in Boston, his training in London exposed him to the best portraits, collections, and contemporary artists in England.[79] Because of Pelham's overestimation of the need for a mezzotint engraver in the colonies, he had to seek out other economic opportunities. Pelham fashioned himself as a Renaissance Man in the colonies, becoming

[76] Sweet, 148-151
[77]H.W John Foote, *John Smibert, Painter* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 89. Sweet, 151
[78]Marc Simpson, "'A Big Anglo-Saxon Total:' American and British Painting, 1670-1890," in Stephan Koja, ed., *America: The New World in Nineteenth-Century Painting*, 210-219 (Munich: Prestel, 1999), 212.
[79]Staiti, "Accounting for Copley," in ed. Rebora et al, *John Singleton Copley,* 25-51, esp 29-20.

an expert in opera, dancing, music, literature, manners, and art. His knowledge of elite comportment allowed him to earn a living (and gain fame) teaching young men and women the refinements of the elite.[80] Copley's stepfather would have been another point of contact for Copley to British art culture and would have instilled in the young artist a desire to for upward mobility and expensive taste.

Reproductive engravings of Old Master and academic works were another critical source of European art for Copley. Both mezzotint and tradition two-tone copperplate engravings reproduced famous works of art from England and the continent. The engravings copied near contemporary works, such Reynold's *Lady Caroline Russel*, works from a generation before, such as Kneller's *Lord Buckhurst,* or copies of paintings from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy and the Netherlands, such as works by Raphael and Rubens that were advertised in bookstores.

More traditional copperplate reproductive engravings also allowed Copley direct access to the forms that theory texts wanted him to emulate. The research on the circulation of imported art prints in the colonies is scant.[81] One source of information is particularly rich—the Boston studio of John Smibert. Not only did Smibert own numerous artifacts of European art culture, but he also imported and sold reproductive

[80]Wayne Craven, *Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 141.
[81]We do have some work on prints made in America or prints from Europe about America. See: Dolmetsch, "European Prints in Eighteenth-Century America;" John D. Morse, ed., *Prints in and of America to 1850*, proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Winterthur Conference, 1970 (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1970); and Wendy J. Shadwell, *American Printmaking:The First 150 Years* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1969).

engravings from his studio.

The Studio of John Smibert

Born in Scotland, Smibert trained in England. He embarked on the Grand Tour in 1719 and remained in Italy until 1722, where he painted portraits for tourists, sketched ruins, and painted copies of paintings he saw. Smibert then accompanied Anglo-Irish philosopher Reverend George Berkeley to the colonies in 1728. Berkeley, charged with founding an institution on the island of Bermuda, appointed Smibert a professor of fine arts. In order to teach in such a remote location, Smibert brought a supply of teaching aids—plaster casts of ancient sculpture, reproductive prints of works by great artists, and painted copies of other Old Masters—to the colonies. When the college failed to materialize, Smibert remained in the colonies, first in Rhode Island before settling in Boston. There he established a studio and color shop on Brattle Street. He displayed his paintings and welcomed artists and other visitors to learn from his collection. After his death, his eldest son Williams Smibert kept the studio open to visitors as museum. The studio quickly became an important locale for the American artist, frequented by numerous painters.[82]

Smibert was active in the print trade, importing and dealing works on paper. A

[82]Richard Saunders, *John Smibert: Colonial America's First Portrait Painter* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) is the most recent and comprehensive study of Smibert. Foote publishes many of Smibert's letters and letters from artists about Smibert, providing an invaluable if incomplete record of the foot-traffic and contents of Smibert's studio. For a complete list of artists who visited the studio, see Saunders, *John Smibert,* 124.

notice placed by Smibert from the *Boston News-Letter* in May 1735 advertised:

> Prints, engrav'd by the best Hands, after the finest Pictures in Italy, France, Holland, and England, done by Raphael, Michael Angelo, Poussin, Rubens, and other the greatest Masters, containing a great Variety of Subjects, as History, etc, most of the Prints very rare, and not to be met with, except in private Collections: being what Mr. Smibert collected in the above-mentioned Countries, for his own private Use & Import.[83]

Smibert also contracted agents in London for specific prints and for English and Continental works. For example, he asked his agent in London Arthur Pond on March 24, 1743 for "prints 5 setts of 5 ships published by Lempriere and sold by H. Tome in Union court Holburn." He went on to specify:

> These ships I want sometimes for to be in a distant view in Portraits of Merchts etc who chuse such, so if there be any better done since send then, but they must be in the modern construction.[84]

Smibert also asks for "the last edition of Perspective commonly called Pricks," referring to Robert Pricke's English translation of *Perspective Practical* by French Jesuit J. Dubreuil.[85] These requests demonstrates that Smibert imported multiple forms of European art media—engravings, paintings, texts on theory—for multiple uses, namely personal development, collecting, and for retail sale. They also suggest that as early as 1743 Smibert kept abreast of the European and British traditions during his later years in Boston. Thus, we have a pattern of behavior for the American artist in which Copley could have followed.

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[83]Dolmetch, 859.
[84]Smibert to Pond, March 24, 1743/4. Foote 88.
[85]Smibert to Pond, March 24, 1743/4. Foote, 88.

Smibert's copies of European paintings served as a particularly powerful pedagogical tool for American artists and especially for Copley. Although the Smibert estate was dispersed in 1795 leaving few records of the remaining works, surviving paintings and letters from visitors to the studio help reconstruct the specific paintings owned by Smibert (Table 3). Moreover, Richard Saunders and Henry Wilde Foote have both attempted to inventory Smibert's extant European copies.

In July of 1744, Dr. Alexander Hamilton visited Smibert. Hamilton famously traveled from Maryland to Maine and back, keeping a lively and detailed journal of his travels called the *Itinerarium.* He noted of his visit to the studio, "a collection of fine pictures, among the rest that part of Scipio's history in Spain where he delivers the lady to the prince to whom she had been betrothed."[86] The "Scipio" mentioned refers to the much-revered and often-copied *Continence of Scipio* (1640) by Nicolas Poussin, of which Smibert made a copy that has survived and is housed in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art (Fig. 11).[87] The academic art community in France and later in London elevated the works of Poussin, who, despite being born in Normandy, spent the majority of his career in Rome. The French Royal Academy under King Louis XIV preferred the rational, academic, and intellectual approach of Poussin, who had developed his moralizing respresentations from the study of classical texts by such philosophers as Plutarch,

[86]Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744,* ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 114.
[87]Foote 90. Trumbull rented Smibert's studio in 1779, commenting that the studio still contained the *Continence of Scipio;* Saunders, *John Smibert,* 125.

Valerius Maximus, and Livy. To those artists interested in the academic approach to the arts, Poussin represented apotheosis of the intellectual artist engaging with his own theories of art in his work.[88] Many Italian, French, and British artists relied on Poussin's color schemes and compositions to demonstrate the expressive power of form, tone, composition, including West in his 1770 *Death of General Wolfe.*[89]

In September 1778, John Trumbull purchased part of the Smibert estate, including a small *Landscape with Nymphs Bathing* by or after Cornelius van Poelenburgh (1594-1667), a small battle scene by Theobald Michau (1676-1765), a "Dutch ferry picture" by one of the later Brueghels (possible Jan the Elder), a copy of van Dyck's *Cardinal Bentivoglio*, and a portrait of two boys (perhaps the royal portrait of *Charles and James II*?) by van Dyck copied by Smibert.[90] In 1779, Trumbull rented Smibert's studio, noting "one of which I afterwards learned to be from the *Madonna della Sedia* by Raphael" (Fig. 12).[91] While no *Madonna della Sedia* attributed Smibert's hand has survived, a striking truncated copy of *Cardinal Bentivoglio* exists in the collection of Harvard College (Fig. 13). Scholars disagree about whether Smibert had the ability to execute a canvas of this

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[88]Todd P. Olson, *Poussin and France: Painting, Humanism, and the Politics of Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002)

[89]Timothy J. Standring, "Poussin's "Infancy of Bacchus" Once Owned by Sir Joshua Reynolds: A New Addition to the Corpus of His Early Roman Pictures," *Artibus et Historiae* 17:34 (1996): 53-68.

[90]Williams Smibert inherited his father collection upon his death in 1751, keeping the collection intact. After Williams' death in 1774, the Smibert estate went to Williams' cousin John Moffat, and upon Moffat's death in 1778, Belcher Noyes, the executor of the state, sold the pieces to John Trumbull. Saunders, *John Smibert,* 121-125, 208-209.

[91]Saunders, *John Smibert,* 125.

skill, but all arguments place the work in Scottish artist's Boston studio nonetheless.[92]

In addition to *Scipio* and *Cardinal Bentivoglio,* Foote identifies a copy of Jacopo Tintoretto's *Luigi Cornado*, now in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art (Fig. 14). Saunders confirms Smibert's likely authorship. He also attributes a copy of van Dyck's *Jean de Montfort* in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art to Smibert (Fig. 15).[93] The artist would not have had access to the original by van Dyck in Vienna, but instead would have had access to a copy now in the Uffizi.[94]

At least one but probably two copies of two different works by Titian hung in Smibert's studio at some point. Copley wrote to Pelham from Parma on June 25, 1775, "The Picture of a Naked Venus and Cupid at Smibert's is Copy'd from one of Titiano's in the possession of the Great Duke of Tuskany, which hangs over the Celebrated Titian Venus."[95] Given this reaction, Copley not only knew the work but had studied it closely. Here Copley refers to a series of canvases by Titian depicting *Danaë and the Golden Shower*, probably a version of the canvas now in Naples, but previously in Florence's

[92]Foote, 229, believes the Harvard copy is John Trumbull's copy of Smibert's copy, as the portrait was reattributed in a 1936 university inventory. Irma B. Jaffe, "Found: John Smibert's Portrait of Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio," *Art Journal* 35 (1976): 212, believes that Smibert bought the copy from a more skilled artist in Florence and passed it off as his own. Saunders, "John Smibert's Italian Sojourn—Once Again," *Art Bulletin 66:2 (1984): 312-318,* 315, purports that the Harvard portrait is indeed by Smibert due to its compositional and iconographic similarities to Smibert's other copies and his original portraits. All three cases place a copy of van Dyck's *Cardinal Bentivoglio* in Smibert's studio.

[93]Foote, 230. Saunders, "John Smibert's Italian Sojourn," 315.

[94] Saunders, "John Smibert's Italian Sojourn," 315.

[95]Copley to Pelham, June 25, 1775; *Letters and Papers*, 340.

Uffizi Gallery and later in the Farnese (Fig. 16).[96] Bowdoin College listed a Smibert *Danaë* in inventory, but the institution sold the canvas in the nineteenth century and the last known owner was in 1915.[97]

A young John Trumbull made a copy of a Smibert copy of a Titian, naming his copy "Education of Cupid after Smibert after Titian in the Borghese Gallery."[98] Bowdoin still owns an American-made copy of Titian's *Venus Blinding Cupid* from the Villa Borghese (Figs. 17-18). Saunders, however, doubts both Smibert's and Trumbull's authorship of the extant Bowdoin Titian, suggesting a date in the 1790s instead.[99] Trumbull copied the *Venus Blinding Cupid* in his youth, which means a Smibert copy had to exist. This would make the Bowdoin *Venus Blinding Cupid* a copy of a copy made by Smibert.

Foote makes note of several other possible copies. A 101.6 x 127 cm scene of *Hector and Andromache* with five-full length figures apparently exists in the private collection of R.G. and Henry Fuller, which Foote believes Smibert copied from an engraving of a European print; however, no primary documentation confirms this attribution.[100] Smibert also likely painted a scene of ancient philosophers, though we have no data beyond this generic inscription.[101]

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[96]Foote, 230-231.
[97] Foote, 230-231.
[98]Foote, 231. Saunders, "John Smibert's Italian Sojourn," 317.
[99]Saunders, "John Smibert's Italian Sojourn," 317, dates the painting based on the Neoclassical hairstyle on the far right.
[100] Foote, 231.
[101] Foote, 123, 231. In a 1768 letter Charles Willson Peale notes in Smibert's studio, "several

Smibert also made many drawings after European works of art. Swiss-born American artist, antiquarian, and naturalist Pierre-Eugène du Simitière observes of Smibert's studio in 1767 journal entry:

> At Dr. William [sic] Smiberts is large collection of original Drawings of the best masters Prints mostly Italian, Pictures, several of them original & some done by his father John Smibert a good painter chiefly portraits & a good collection of casts in plaister of Paris from the best antiques, besides basso relievos seals & other curiosities.[102]

Foote also makes note of three drawings attributed to Smibert. The most important drawing depicts a caricature of elderly Grand Duke Cosimo III in side-profile. One scholar believes Italian Alessandro Magnasco executed the drawing, but in either case, Smibert possessed at least one, possibly two copies of drawing of the Tuscan Grand Duke, giving Copley access to both the Italian connection and the side profile (Fig. 19). While the drawing itself is a biting caricature, the artist employs the side-profile in the Antique tradition of the elevated ruler or intellectual, as I will discuss in the third chapter.

In addition to books, paintings, and works on paper, Smibert's studio contained many teaching aids common to European academies. Du Simitière's journal entry identifies "a good collection of casts in plaister of Paris from the best antiques, besides basso relievos seals & other curiosities."[103] This entry, in addition to confirming the presence of more Italian works in Smibert's studio, notes the presence of plaster casts

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heads painted, of the ancient philosophers, and some groups of figures, these were the last works of Smibert." Charles Willson Peale to Rembrandt Peale, "Bellafield, October, 28, 1812."

[102] Saunders , *John Smibert,* 124, Foote , 123.

[103] From a manuscript in the Library Company of Philadelphia; cited in Saunders , *John Smibert,* 124, Foote,123.

from antique sculpture in the round and bas-relief. Saunders even believes one of the casts to be a bust of the head of the famous Venus de' Medici (Fig. 20).[104] As I will argue that Roman coins and medals served as inspiration for Copley's use of the side profile in *Boy with a Squirrel,* the presence of these materials in Smibert's studio fully accessible to Copley supports his inspiration by such objects.

British and Continental Paintings in the American Collections

Beyond what was in Smibert's studio, du Simitière also comments on the European paintings that hung in the colonies. After his 1766 arrival in Philadelphia, du Simitière began cataloging the collections of the American colonies, inventorying all of the Old Country works that hung in the houses of the elite, particularly in New York.[105] After 1656, the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands began encouraging middle class and wealthy Dutchmen to immigrate to the New Netherlands, resulting an influx of consumers of art to the New World. In a February 26, 1779 unanswered letter to Governor George Clinton, the first governor of New York, du Simitière describes the Dutch colonists' relationship to European painting:

> Altho there were in the last century many capital engravers of prints all over Europe but especially in Flanders and Holland, yet the fashion of decorating appartments with prints, framed and glazed did not then exist, nor indeed has it become universal till very lately, the taste was then, particularly in the Netherlands to cover the walls with pictures chiefly

[104]Saunders, *John Smibert,* 122.
[105] Paul G. Sifton, ed., *Historiographer to the United States: The Revolutionary Letterbook of Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere* (New York: Vantage, 1987).

> painted in oyl, on boards in black ebony frames highly polished, of these kinds the Dutch settlers brought a great many with their other furniture.[106]

Here du Simitière outlines the differences between the display of works on paper and the display of paintings in the domestic setting of the Dutch Americans. During the height of Dutch immigration in the mid-seventeenth century, interior decoration fashion prescribed the covering of walls with oil paintings. In the early years of immigration, the Dutch participated in their home culture by bringing the symbols of status of the Netherlands—oil paintings—to the New World. While Dutch and British society had more-or-less merged by the eighteenth century, the Dutch were still responsible for the importation of many works into the young colonies. Therefore, even in the seventeenth century, numerous Renaissance and Baroque Dutch paintings existed in New York.

In 1768, Du Simitière also catalogs numerous European works in collections in Boston and Newport. He found a portrait of Czar Peter I that he thought Godfrey Kneller had painted, or that was at least in the style of Kneller. He also identified a self-portrait by Anthony van Dyck and portraits by unknown authors of Oliver Cromwell, Charles II, James II, and George II. Vague references also note the presence of European battle-pieces, still-lifes, and religious paintings in these New England collections.[107] The

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[106] February 26, 1779 letter by du Simitère to Governor George Clinton, from his papers in the Library Society of Philadelphia. Partially published in William John Potts and Pierre Eugene Du Simitiére, "Du Simitiére, Artist, Antiquary, and Naturalist, Projector of the First American Museum,with Some Extracts from His Note-Book," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 13:3 (Oct. 1889): 341-375, 346.

[107] Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution: Painting, Music, Literature, and the Theater from the* Treaty of Paris *to the* Inauguration of George Washington*,* 1763-1789 (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell, 1976), 13. See also Sifton.

breadth of Allen's collection and du Simitière's 1768 documentation of large groups of paintings suggests collections of this magnitude were not rare in the colonies.

European paintings made it to the American colonies through other channels as well. Some English aristocrats and government officials sent works of art to colonies as public gifts to cities to mark milestones. Queen Anne, for example, sent an unknown portrait by Kneller and a portrait of Lord Baltimore by van Dyck to Annapolis in 1703.[108] Curiosities dealers occasionally put European paintings for sale in the colonies. An ad in the *New-York Gazette* announced the sale of more than 20 European still-lifes in 1763.[109] The most common channel of European art into the colonies were the souvenirs of grand tourist.

Not only did these collections exist in the colonies, we have evidence that Copley accessed them. In September 1771, he and his wife visited Philadelphia and the home of Chief Justice William Allen. Copley observed of Allen's collection,

> we saw a fine Coppy of the Titiano Venus, and the Holy Family at whole Length as large as life from Coregio, and four other small half Lengths of Single figures as large as life, one a St Cecelia, and Herodias with John Baptists head, Venus lamenting over the Body of Adonus and I think a Niobe, I cannot be certain.[110]

In addition to demonstrating the considerable size of Allen's collection, Copley exhibits his interest in seeing European works. Although the trip took place several years after his execution of *Boy with a Squirrel,* Copley's desire to see European works would not have

[108] Silverman, 13.
[109] Silverman, 13-14.
[110] Copley to Henry Pelham, New York September 29, 1771. *Letters and Papers,* 163.

materialize only in 1771, but was instead a manifest desire articulated years before.

Chapter III:

Copley' Anglicizing Forms

As an emblem of Anglicization for the artist, *Boy with a Squirrel* carried the potential to validate Copley's talents within a much larger pool of artists in England. Various formal, compositional, and iconographic conventions employed by Copley articulate this desired Englishness.

Copley chose to express the tenets of English art in two ways. First, he uses certain elements—composition, mixed genre, and the inclusion of English-made goods—to demonstrate his knowledge of British academic painting directly. These elements would have been easily accessible through discussions in art theory texts and in British mezzotint engravings.

Other elements have a less direct connection to Englishness. As the academic artists in London had readily adopted the Italian tradition, Copley also demonstrates his Englishness through his understanding of Italian measures of virtuosity, specifically from the Renaissance, to evidence his knowledge of academic art.

Copley would have learned of these conventions through English-language theory

texts and in available examples of European art. Copley's incomplete access to these sources in the colonies meant that he did not conceive of his Anglicization systematically. Many elements of form, iconography, style, and composition in *Boy with a Squirrel* speak in the visual lexicon of London, but the colonial American vernacular accents this language.

Despite his isolation in the colonies, the importance of Italy would not have escaped Copley. Americans including Benjamin West began partaking in the Grand Tour in the 1760s; Smibert too went on the Tour in 1719 and returned with many works of art by his own hand and by other artists.[111] Through *Boy with a Squirrel,* Copley had the opportunity to demonstrate to London artists Reynolds and West that he could paint in the European intellectual traditions that they had learned during their sojourns to Italy. He may not have gone on the Grand Tour himself, yet his employment of Italian forms connected him to a shared experience of erudition that he simply did not possess as a tactic to gain their approval.

Portrait or Still-Life? Questions of Genre

By mixing compositional devices, Copley plays with genre in *Boy with a Squirrel.* In many ways, the painting plays with the conventions of still-lifes, genre-scenes, and portraiture. Copley's conflation of genres likely stems from his desire to

[111]Richard Saunders, "John Smibert's Italian Sojourn;" Prown, "A Course of Antiquities in Rome, 1764."

elevate portraiture. Copley knew he lacked the training to successfully execute a history painting, so he chose to paint a mixed genre-scene to play to his strengths as an artist: in the creation of a human likeness and in the rendering of fabrics and surfaces.[112]

One way in which Copley challenged genre was through the use of the profile. Roberts connects the use of the profile to genre scenes by French painter Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin, who used the profile in his early paintings featuring boys at tables. One such example is his 1740 *House of Cards* (Fig. 21), which was reproduced in a series of British periodicals.[113] Copley borrows not just the pose, but the entire composition from Chardin complete with the table. While we do not know if Copley ever saw any work of Chardin's, Roberts believes that it is likely Copley derived his format from this source. He depicts a likeness of his brother in his portrait, but does it in the compositional language of French genre-scene thereby challenging the categorization of his painting as mere portrait and elevating his work.

Boy with a Squirrel also shares traits with a still-life. As with other traditional portraits, the display of goods in the work communicated wealth and status through ownership; the inclusion of the goods in a portrait of his brother insinuates that Copley's family owned the goods and thus was part of the colonial elite. However, the variety of surfaces that comprise the material goods and their careful arrangement on the table

[112] Emily Ballew Neff goes as far to argue that Copley intentionally exploited the European perception of the naïve American artist in order to garner a more positive response from the Society of Artists. If Copley were the provincial American yokel, than his submission would be judged as pure talent. See Neff, 78-85.
[113]Roberts, 29.

pushes the portrait into the realm of a still-life, a genre in which the artist attempted to reproduce a multitude of objects within an organized plane.

Art Theory and Composition

The general composition and style of Copley's painting reflects British tastes as outlined in English language theory texts. De Piles also outlines the most important characteristics of paintings, suggest to the artist:

> The *Attitudes,* or Postures of the Figures be Natural, Expressive, vary'd in their Actions, and *contrasted* in their Members....The *Extremities*, I mean the Head, Feet, and Hands, must be drawn with more nicety and exactness than other parts of the Figures, and must together help render their Action more Expressive."[114]

Regarding drapery, he continues: "The *Draperies* should be well set, the Foldings large, as few as may be, and be week *contrasted*. The Stuff ought to be heavy or light, according to the quality and convenience of the subject."[115] Finally, a paragraph later, de Piles writes, "Animals are chiefly characteriz'd by a lively and particular stroke of the Pencil."[116]

Even though de Piles does not address portraiture at length in his text, his

[114]De Piles, *Art of Painting,* 3-4. All quotes come from the versions of these texts available in the colonies and listed in Schimmelman. The full citations and editions are available in the second chapter.
[115]De Piles, *Art of Painting,* 4. Du Fresnoy concurs, "Let the Draperies be nobly spread upon the Body; let the Folds be large and let them follow the Order of the Parts…the Beauty of the Draperies conflicts not in the Multitudes of the Folds, but in their natural Order, and plain Simplicity," 23-25.
[116]De Piles, *Art of Painting*, 4.

description of the proper tenets of painting provides a fertile model that Copley appeared to have had in mind. From the introduction of the text alone, we find many of these elements present in *Boy with a Squirrel*: an imitation of both nature and Antiquity; a variety of surfaces; understated drapery; dramatic placement of figures performing interesting gestures; finely-rendered hands, feet, and face; and lightly-rendered images of animals. Though many early American artists employ these visual conceits in their works, Copley appears to have employed them all at once.

The Water Glass: Reflection, Refraction and Perspective

Several elements of Copley's "Boy with a Squirrel" do not have precedent either English academic art. These elements include Pelham's profile pose, his misshapen ear, and the squirrel on the chain. Despite the lack of immediate precedent for these elements in England at mid-century, we can trace the antique and early-modern roots of these iconographic peculiarities through the Renaissance and into Copley's painting.

The glass tumbler on the left side of the painting functions as an indicator of status on multiple levels . Quality glassware was a rarity in the colonies and only the wealthiest could afford the clearest, most regular glasses. Moreover, imported English glassware cost considerably more because of its fragility. As with other English goods, colonists purchased and displayed glassware as a symbol of status.[117] The presence of the

[117]Breen, "Baubles of Britain," 81-82.

tumbler in Copley's portrait connects the artist to the transatlantic economy of consumption through his familiarity and ownership of such objects.

From an artistic perspective, the depiction of transparency allowed Copley to elevate his public persona as an artist. The ability to convincingly depict transparency, reflection, and refraction held considerable weight in the demonstration of an artist's virtuosity. Developed in the Renaissance, multiple examples of the depiction of reflection and refraction abounded in Italian and Northern art, supporting the virtuosic importance of this painting device.[118] In a famous example, Verrocchio and Leonardo experimented with the depiction of refraction of Christ's body through water in the *Baptism of Christ* (c. 1472) (Fig. 22).

Copley renders the tumbler in an ambitious fashion. Not only does he depict transparency, he also attempts to recreate the diaphanous water through the glass. The squirrel chain held by Pelham also conspicuously passes behind the glass, giving Copley another channel to demonstrate his mastery of painting refraction. If the transparency of water and glass were not sufficient proof of Copley's abilities, the artist also places the tumbler on a highly polished table where Copley depicts the reflection of the menagerie of objects before Pelham. Copley ambitiously includes reflection, refraction, and transparency in one single object in an obvious attempt to demonstrate the highest level of artistic virtuosity possible.

[118]For reflection and refraction in art see: Mario Taddei and Edoardo Zanon, *Leonardo, l'acqua e il Rinascimento* (Milan: Federico Motta, 2004); Anna Laghi, *Fragili trasparenze: Vetri antichi in Toscana* (Florence: Centro Affari e Promozioni, 1994).

Art theory texts recognize the importance of this painting device. On transparency, de Piles writes:

> We say to them, that the Colouring makes its Observations on the Masses or Bodies of the Colouring, accompanied with Lights and Shadows, more or less evident by Degrees of Diminution, according to the Accidents: First, of a luminous Body; as for Example, the *Sun* or a *Torch;* Secondly, of a diaphanous or transparent Body, which betwixt us and the Object; as the Air, either pure or this, a red Glass.[119]

In this treatise, de Pile cautions the artist to be aware of changes in light and coloring when shown through a transparent or diaphanous body.

Algarotti delves even deeper. In his third chapter "Of Perspective," he writes: "Now, the situation of an object at the other side of glass itself depends entirely upon the situation of the eye on this side of the glass, that is to say on the rules of Perspective."[120] Here Algarotti clearly articulates the difficult nature of accurately displaying perspective through a transparent surface and implies that it demonstrates great talent to successfully do so. He continues by defining the utmost importance of perspective, stating:

> …to the opinion of most people, [perspective] extends much farther than the painting of scenes, floors, and what generally goes under the name of Quadratura. Perspective, according to that great master da Vinci, is to be considered as the reins and rudder of Painting.[121]

If perspective is the "rudder of Painting" and painting proper perspective through transparent glass is the highest form of perspective, Copley clearly demonstrates his highest understanding of the highest European conceit of painting through his rendering

[119]De Piles, *Art of Painting,* 125.
[120]Algarotti, 25.
[121]Algarotti, 26.

of the tumbler. Moreover, x-rays scans of *Boy with a Squirrel* reveal that Copley altered the head, hands, and table of the portrait in order to put the composition better in proportion and in perspective.[122] It appears, then, that perspective was on Copley's mind while painting the work.

Listening to the Painting: Synaesthesia and the Evocation of the Senses

Henry Pelham's actions in *Boy with a Squirrel* evoke not only the act of looking on the part of the viewer, but also hearing, touch, and taste. Roberts believe that the portrait engages multiple senses while playing with sensory disjuncture and unification. Pelham's pose disconnects his senses, severing the eyes, ears, nose, and hands, while the squirrel's posture reconstitutes the senses because his eyes, nose, and hands come together spatially and functionally to work the nut.[123] Roberts further argues that Pelham's position in profile allows the sitter to listen in one direction and look in another, mirroring the multi-directional nature of the transatlantic journey of the painting.[124] According to Robert, Copley positions Pelham's ear so that he can listen to the commentary given by the English recipients of the work, underscoring both the transatlantic disconnect between the painting's origins and its destination and Copley's anxiety about the reception of his work given the cultural distance between origin and

[122]Rebora et al., 218.
[123]Roberts, 33-35.
[124]Roberts, 33.

destination.[125]

While an intriguing proposal, Roberts' reading of *Boy with a Squirrel* begs a simpler explanation—synaesthesia. Synaethesia, while holding many modern connotations in music, technology, and psychobiology, refers to a specific painting conceit in the early Baroque where the artist evoked senses beyond sight within a visual representation. The Carracci family and Caravaggio most famously employed this technique. Caravaggio's *Lute Player* exemplifies this type of painting: Caravaggio depicts the young boy mid-performance, implying there is something to be heard; the flowers and the fruit to the left evoke a sense of smell; the ripe fruit appeals to taste; and the volume of the fruit, its over-ripe, blemished skin and hyper-realistic nature all call out the viewer to reach out and touch the still-life (Fig. 23).

The virtuosity attached to the ability to depict multiple senses arises from the *paragone* debates that raged between artists, architects, sculptors, and poets in the High Renaissance and beyond. Artists believed in the superiority of painting over the other arts because of its ability to evoke many senses. These debates transpired in part because of the artist's desire for the elevation of painting to a high art. The visual arts had heretofore been relegated to artisanal status because of the manual labor required in the production of painting and sculpture. The Renaissance artist's desire for professional elevation to the level of the academic arts notably echoes Copley's own anxieties about the artisanal status of the visual arts in the colonies. The adaptation of tropes such as

[125]Roberts, 34.

synaesthesia in the *paragone* debates therefore provides an interesting parallel with Copley's own experience.

The ability to engage multiple senses represented one of the skills of the highest artists; many writers on art exalted Caravaggio, the Carracci, and Simon Vouet for this ability. De Piles' text expends many words on these three artists, consistent with his aim by contrast to his contemporaries, to elevate Baroque art over High Renaissance art. De Piles, however, does not make any reference to the skill of evoking multiple senses through painting, so we cannot be sure that Copley knew of this trait. Even so, *Boy with a Squirrel's* iconography hints at a multi-sensory approach and compels a synaesthetic reading.

Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel,* like *The Lute Player*, evokes multiple senses, but unlike Caravaggio, his synaesthetic quality functions reciprocally. While Caravaggio's "Lute Player" merely produces the sensory information for the viewer to process, Henry Pelham projects sensory material for his viewer to perceive and simultaneously awaits his viewer's response. Mirroring another Baroque synthaesthetic trope—the speaking likeness—Pelham purses his lips as if preparing to speak, evoking the viewer's sense of hearing.[126] However, as Roberts has noted, Pelham's atypical profile does not just expose his left ear, but quite literally makes the misshapen ear the center of the composition.[127]

[126]A. Sutherland-Harris, "La Ressemblance Parlante," in Stéphane Loire, ed., *Simon Vouet. Actes du Colloque international*, 193-208 (Paris: Documentation française, 1992); C. Whitfield, "Portraiture. From the 'Simple Portrait' to the 'Ressemblance Parlante'," in B. L. Brown, ed., *The Genius of Rome*, *1592-1623*, 140-172 (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001).
[127]Roberts 32-37.

As Pelham parts his lips to speak, he also positions his ear to listen to the viewer's response. Copley has created an entire viewer-mediated conversational narrative within the painting itself, based potentially on the virtuosic traditions of the Renaissance.[128]

Moreover, Copley paints layers of synaesthetic perceptibility within his canvas. With the minute rendering of multiple fabrics, Copley's effaced painting manner engages the sense of touch, inviting the viewer to caress the supple satin of Pelham's collar. As the viewer contemplates touching the canvas, Henry Pelham himself delicately fondles the squirrel chain, activating the sensory inclination of the viewer. This reciprocal quality of this synaesthetic exchange further underscores the narrative between the viewer and sitter seen in the evocation of hearing. If the relationship between viewer and sitter is not evident enough, Copley emphasizes the sensory narrative by including it twice—the squirrel also touches the nut and exposes his ear to the viewer. The viewer imagines hearing the squirrel fiddling with the nut as well as touching it, and in the same way as his master, the squirrel will hear the viewer's response even if he cannot process it.

Whether Copley knew of the Renaissance origins of synaesthesia and its relationship to the elevation of painting of the high arts, it appears that Copley knew of the virtuostic implications of evoking multiple senses via sight. The mastery of this concept certainly would not have been lost on Reynolds, West, or another academic artist in London, ensuring Copley's own expression of skill.

[128]Robert 32-38.

The Squirrel and the Emblematic Tradition

The tiny flying squirrel kept on a chain by Pelham has been the subject of much conjecture. Roberts has notably analyzed the presence of the rodent within the context of nautical culture. The flying squirrel is native only to North America, so it carried certain nationalistic implications regarding the great natural expanse of America and would have also piqued the British curiosity for unseen fauna.[129] Roberts also connects the squirrel to shipping culture, discovering that "Flying Squirrel" also served as a moniker for the schooners, sloops, and man-of-wars that routinely passed through Boston Harbor.[130] This linguistic and iconographic connection, she argues, underscored the transatlantic journey the painting had to undertake.

Roberts' reading is convincing, but squirrels had multiple, overlapping significances in European and colonial culture. At the most basic level, they denote wealth and nobility because of their status as the high-class pet.[131] Noble women as early as 1290 kept squirrels as pets to demonstrate their refinement through their ability to control nature.[132] The practice of keeping squirrels extended into the upper classes of the American colonies, as many goldsmith ledgers listed squirrel chains in their inventories.[133]

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[129]Roberts 25, 37.
[130]Roberts 25.
[131]Roberts 37.
[132]Roberts 37; Malcolm Jones, "Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art III: Erotic Animal Imagery," *Folklore* 102:ii (1991): 199. The first known depiction come to us from a tile in Chertsy, England depicting Queen Eleanor toying with her squirrel on a leash.
[133]Paul Staiti, "Character and Class," 53-77, 64.

The presence of the squirrel also related to the emblematic tradition. In portraiture, Leonardo codified the use of emblems, using elements from the natural world to imbue his female portraits with a symbolic connection to their likeness beyond the sitter's physiognomy.[134] Leonardo's portrait of *Cecilia Gallerani* demonstrates the use of the emblematic tradition in Renaissance portraiture (Fig. 24).[135] The sitter strokes an ermine, an action that bespeaks the sitter's chastity and virtue. According to the antique emblematic tradition, the ermine would rather die than allow its white fur to be soiled.[136] Thus Gallerani should model herself after the ermine in her pursuit of purity and virtue.

A portrait painted a few years after Leonardo's *Cecilia Gallerani* using the specific emblem of the squirrel is Holbein's *Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling* (Fig. 25). Emblematic tradition dictates that the squirrel, diligently and intently working his nut, exemplifies the ideal Christian.[137] The ideal Christian, like the squirrel, must work diligently and patiently to attain divine knowledge in order to achieve spiritual transcendence.

Instead of an allegory of the perfect Christian, Anglo-American emblem books

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[134]Jessica Rawson, *Animals in Art* (London: British Museum, 1978), Peter M. Daly, *Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York: AMS Press, 2008).

[135]Paul Barolsky, "La Gallerani's Galeé," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 12:1 (1992): 13-14; Maria Rzepinska, "The Lady with the Ermine Revisited," *Achademia Leonardi Vinci* 6 (1993): 191-199; Janice Shell, "Cecilia Gallerani, Leonardo's Lady with an Ermine," *Artibus et Historiae* 13:25 (1992): 47-66).

[136]Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, "Weasels and Pregnancy in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 15:2 (2001) 172-187. Joseph Manca, "Wordplay, Gesture, and Meaning in Leonardo da Vinci's Cecilia Gallerani," *Word and Image* 24:2 (2008): 127-138.

[137]David J. King, "Who was Holbein's Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling?" *Apollo* 507 (May 2004): 42-49.

ascribe the squirrel's patience, diligence, and perseverance to the protestant notion that everything good comes through hard labor. Emblem books like *Emblems for the Improvement and Entertainment of Youth* use the squirrel to embody the protestant work ethic.[138] William Williams' portrait of Deborah Hall from 1766 demonstrates the American use of the squirrel in the emblematic tradition (Fig. 26). Like Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel*, Williams fashions Hall in an artistic and learned context, harking back to Antiquity with his inclusion of the Ovidian story of Apollo and Daphne in the foreground. Williams also depicts the sitter tending to a rose bush and delicately holding onto her squirrel via its chain. Here the squirrel serves a double function: first, the squirrel bespeaks social status, whether real or aspirational, by connecting the sitter to the long-standing traditions and rituals of the English elite; secondly, the squirrel emblematizes the purity and patience practiced by the sitter.[139]

Copley's use of the squirrel in his portrait of Pelham shares similar intentions to that of Williams's *Deborah Hall*. As a symbol of wealth, the squirrel blends well with the accoutrements of the elite depicted within the frame, projecting status in a similar way as traditional portraits. Owning a squirrel, like with owning tea sets and participating in tea

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[138]*Emblems for the Improvement and Entertainment of Youth* (London: R. Ware, 1755). The squirrel also shows up in several other contemporaneous emblem books in Europe: Joachim Camerarius, *Joachimi Camerarii Symbolorvm et emblematvm centvriæ tres. I. Ex herbis & stirpibus. II. Ex animalibus quadrupedibus. III. Ex volatilibus & insectis* (Leipzig: Typis Voegelinianis, 1605); George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (1635); and Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustrate* (Venice: Apresso Francesco de Franceschi Sensesi, 1584).
[139]Fleischer 3-5.

rituals, allowed the colonist to participate in the cultural systems of the dominant culture and elevating the status of both the sitter and his family.[140] By giving these objects of luxury to his brother, Copley also succeeds in his indirect elevation as a colonial elite. Both of these factors would appeal to the academic art community in London.

As with Deborah Hall, Holbein's *Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling,* and Leonardo *Cecilia Gallerani*, the use of the squirrel also bespeaks the unseeable inner characteristics of the sitter. Renaissance portraitists were certainly aware of the problem of depicting the sitter's soul. The emblematic tradition emerged to permit the artist some agency in the depiction of sitter's internal qualities. The use of the emblematic tradition for this purpose would have also been on Copley's mind from his contact with theoretical sources. De Piles writes that, "the Essence of Painting as the Body, the Soul, and Reason are that of a Man; and as Man, by these three Parts of him only, and shews several Proprieties and *Agreements* that are not part of his Essence, but the Ornament."[141] Despite barely addressing portraiture as a genre, de Piles clearly emphasizes that showing the inner psychology of a subject is the ultimate goal of depicting human likenesses. This would not be lost on Copley, who sought to elevate portraiture. By including psychological emblems in his portrait, Copley demonstrated that he could paint beyond

[140]See Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker," for this discussion into Copley's status as an artist, his desire to elevate his status, and his creation of the auto-biographical portraits of others. Rather essentially argues that Copley's Paul Revere is an anti-portrait of Copley because Revere is dressed as an artisan, whereas Copley stylistically, sartorially, and physiognomically separates himself from this type in his contemporaneous self portrait.
[141]De Piles, *Art of Painting,* 20.

the mechanical recreation of nature.

The Profile Portrait, and the Early Renaissance

The most peculiar element of *Boy with a Squirrel* is the use of the profile. Profile portraits had gone out of style in continental Europe by 1500 and were a rare occurrence after 1600; even in the Cinquecento, side profiles were limited to Italy.[142] As Roberts has suggested and as I have addressed earlier, Copley likely used the profile as a way to challenge genre and make *Boy with a Squirrel* closer to the higher-regarded genre-scene. However, his use of a profile also demonstrated Copley's virtuosity through the skill it required and on the traditions on which he would have had to have known to call upon such a choice.

Most sources, and more recently Roberts, attribute Copley's revival of the side profile to his desire to evoke Antiquity through the emulation of Roman coins and portrait medallions.[143] Almost all the art theorists discussed above encouraged the artist to draw from Roman numismatics. Algarotti suggested that ""It would be proper to make the pupil copy some fine heads from Greek and Roman medals."[144] Du Fresnoy concurred, stating: "And for the Reason, we must be careful in the Search of ancient Medals,

[142]Dante Bernini, "'Come un uccello sacro:' sul ritratto di Federico da Montefeltro," *Storia dell'arte* 95 (1999) 5-34. Alison Wright, "The Memory of Faces: Representation Choices in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Portraiture," in Giovanni Ciapelli, ed., *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 86-113.
[143]Roberts, 31. Luisa Capoduro, "Effigi di imperatori romani nel manoscritto Chig. J VII della Biblioteca vaticana: origini e diffusione di un'iconografia," *Storia dell'Arte* 79 (1993): 286-325.
[144]Algarotti, 7.

Statues, Gems, Vases, Paintings, and Basso Relievo's."[145] Smibert's studio had such "Basso Relievo's" from which to study, and Copley had seen the portrait medallions employed by Smibert in his caricature of Cosimo. Moreover, the use of the profile portrait medallion had made it into colonial American prints by 1762. Boston engraver Nathaniel Hurd circulated a print that featured three portraits bounded by circular borders, two of which are in profile (Fig. 27).[146] Identified as the earliest use of a side profile in the colonies by Ellen Miles, this image suggests that the iconography of the portrait medal had indeed reached the colonies albeit in a very specific context.[147] By using a profile pose for his portrait, Copley nods to both his knowledge of Antiquity and his adherence to the proper training of an academic artist prescribed by art theorists.

The use of the profile portrait also has roots in the Renaissance conception of artistic virtuosity. The first modern revival of the side portrait in early Quattrocentro Florence sought to re-enfranchise Antiquity through the use of numismatics and effigies.[148] Profile views from numismatic portraits of Roman emperors became the standard way to depict Florentine intellectuals and aristocrats who wanted fashion themselves as intellectuals.[149]

The side profile has thus always been an important trope within in depiction of a

[145]Du Fresnoy, 23.
[146]Roberts, 29.
[147]Ellen G. Miles, *Saint-Mémin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America* (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1994), 46-47.
[148] Luba Freedman, *Titian's Independent Self-Portraits* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1990), 86.
[149] Freedman 92. Iain Gordon Brown, "'Emulous of Greek and Roman Fame:" A 'Lost' Profile Portrait of his Father by Allan Ramsay," *Apollo* 141:397 (March 1995): 37-41.

learned humanist or a man of letters. Renaissance artists almost always portrayed Dante in side profile.[150] Luba Freedman has argued that Titian's side-profile self portrait and the general re-surfacing of the side profile in Cinquecento portraiture represents a nostalgia on the part of the artist (Fig. 28).[151] Titian's side profile pose was anachronistic, she argues, and thus he hoped to link himself to intellectual center of Renaissance Florence and elevate his status to the level of the genius-artist like Michelangelo.[152] Titian's adaptation of the side profile, then, mirrors Copley's own quest for status as an artist.

The use of the side-profile in eighteenth-century England was also reserved for intellectuals. Iain Gordon Brown has traced the use of the Roman numismatic side profile in eighteenth-century England, coining the phrase the "laureate profile."[153] The laureate profile clearly denotes a literate and intellectual subject sartorially, iconographically, and physiognomically in line with the ancient Roman orator tradition.[154] As early as 1725, artists used the laureate profile to depict men of letters in specific literary contexts.[155] The 1788 frontispiece of Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* depicts Ramsay in side profile wearing dark robes (Fig. 29). The frontispiece was based on a drawing his artist son, also Allan Ramsay, executed around 1740.

Another example of the laureate profile in mid-eighteenth century England is

[150] See: Alvaro Spagnesi, "Per il ritratto di Dante," in Giovanna Lazzi, ed., *Danti Riccadiani: Parole e Figure* (Florence: Polistampa, 1996).
[151] Freedman 98.
[152] Freedman 85-98.
[153] Iain Gordon Brown 36-42.
[154] Brown 37-38.
[155] Brown 38.

artist Godfried Kneller's portrait of Alexander Pope.[156] This print, like most of Kneller's portraits of prominent people, was made into a mezzotint engraving and most likely made it to the American colonies (Fig. 30).[157] English artist William Hogarth used the laureate profile to depict himself in his 1757 self-portrait that later circulated as an engraving (Fig. 31).

The profile in *Boy with a Squirrel* appears to reproduce the laureate profile that derives from Roman numismatics, but finds its iconographic significance in fifteenth-century depictions of Dante. Copley must have drawn from the circulating prints and mezzotints that employed this format, but probably knew of its significance in the Renaissance from the books on art theory that circulated in the colonies.

Given this link between the side profile and the intellectual status of the artist, writer, and humanist, it would make sense that Copley would employ such a form to both demonstrate his knowledge of this Antique and Renaissance type and elevate the status of his art from craft to intellectual pursuit. The profile also elevates Copley beyond the status of mere portrait painter because it requires a learned man to know this tradition and aligns him within the lineage of the gentleman artist, with comrades such as Piero della Francesca, Dante, and Titian.

Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel* appeals to British tastes in two different ways. On a compositional level, Copley adheres to the general tenets of English painting laid out by

[156] Brown 39-40.
[157] Brown 40.

popular art theorists of the time. He achieves this by employing animals, an understated swag, a variety of surfaces, and dramatic placement of figures and objects. On a more specific level, Copley looks to several common tropes in Cinquecento and Seicento Italian paintings, namely the profile portrait, the evocation of multiple senses, and the rendering of transparency. Copley's desire to emulate Italian techniques derives from his knowledge of English tastes for Italian art. Through the employment of these forms, Copley demonstrates his membership in the academic art community in London by appealing to the tastes of the British academician.

Conclusion

John Singleton Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel* came into existence in a particular moment in colonial America. Before the Revolution, Britishness held considerable social capital for these colonists. Feeling intense anxiety about status given their distance from England, British Americans sought to uphold and emulate the dominant culture in order to feel connected to their motherland. They readily consumed English goods, participated in English rituals, and had intellectual discussions to prove their knowledge of English culture.

Copley was not exempt from this anxiety. The lowly status and limited opportunities for the American artist clearly concerned Copley, as his 1766 letter confirms. While he had achieved a bump in status by marrying up, his career in the colonies, though not lacking in patrons, did not fulfill Copley's desires to be an artist in the academic systems that existed abroad.

While other anxious colonial elites consumed and displayed goods as a way to feel a sense belonging to the larger culture of the British empire, Copley's articulated his sense of belonging by Anglicizing *Boy with a Squirrel.* Sending it to a London audience of artists in order to size up his skills in the urban art center, Copley used to English

forms, compositions, and iconography to assert his knowledge and execution of the tenets of academic art. By demonstrating his abilities in the employment of English measures of virtuosity, Copley intimated his membership in the academic art community in London.

Copley achieved this by challenging the boundaries of the genre of portraiture. He looked back to French genre-scenes to enhance the composition of his portrait, which enabled him to include a elements of the genre-scene in a portrait likeness. The conflation of genre helped elevate the status of his portrait, as portraiture existed at the lowest rung of the hierarchy of genres per the tenets of academic painting.

Copley also looked to tropes in Italian art, as earlier texts on art theory promoted the importance of Antiquity and the Renaissance. Moreover, British tastes in this moment preferred the Italian tradition thanks to the rise in popularity of the Grand Tour. Copley demonstrates his mastery of these continental traditions by also employing early-modern Italian measures of virtuosity.

One such measure was synaesthesia, which Copley expressed by evoking multiple senses through his painting techniques. He also used the water glass in on the table to demonstrate his ability to not only paint diaphanous objects, but also to paint refraction, as the gold chain passes behind the glass. Moreover, Copley paints the table at which Pelham sits at a diagonal, which shows the artist's ability to paint both reflective surfaces and linear perspective.

The flying squirrel in the foreground not only provides Copley a means to show his ability to paint from nature, but also demonstrates his knowledge of yet another conceit of continental painting—the emblematic tradition. This tradition developed as a way for artists to use objects as metaphors for the inner psychological qualities of the sitter. Paintings such as Leonardo's *Cecilia Gallerani* and Holbein's *Lady with a Squirrel* evidence the importance of this conceit in the continental tradition. Using a squirrel to hint at the sitter's inner qualities bespeaks Copley's abilities as an artist because the most accomplished artist could capture in a portrait the intangible essence of a person.

The use of the profile pose also demonstrates Copley's knowledge Antiquity and the Renaissance. Art theory texts unanimously decreed the importance of copying Roman coins and medals as an important exercise for the artist, so placing Pelham in profile evidences Copley's knowledge of these prescribed artistic exercises. The profile also had roots in the Renaissance depiction of the intellectual, stemming from its ubiquitous use in portraits of Dante Alighieri. The use of the profile to denote one's intellectual status persisted in places like Titian's *Self-Portrait* and in eighteenth-century England where images of intellectuals such as Allan Ramsay, William Hogarth, and Alexander Pope all employ the side profile.

In order to argue that Copley employed these English devices, we have to prove that he could have known about them in the colonies. As the research and the archives are sparse regarding the availability of sources on art in early America, we are forced to

consider the intellectual milieu during the moment of *Boy with a Squirrel's* conception. A synthesis of the existing materials produces a surprisingly rich and varied body of work from which Copley could have drawn.

More than 27 art texts circulated in the northeastern colonies before 1765, though the likelihood that Copley had access to them is low. However, we do have one text—de Piles' *Art of Painting*—in Boston before 1762 and Copley's admission that he consulted the text only one year after the completion of *Boy with a Squirrel.* De Piles' text is a rich source for the tenets of painting that had been adopted by the academic tradition in Europe. As such, this text provided a fertile source for Copley's knowledge of the conceits discussed above.

More striking is the number of European paintings that existed in the colonies during the early 1760s. Dutch immigrants brought over numerous paintings, and rich men purchased a multitude of original and copied works of European art. These collections hung in private homes, but Copley would have had some access, since it was commonplace for elites to show their collections to their peers.

The richest visual source of European art was the studio of John Smibert. There hung a myriad of copies of seminal works of the Renaissance and Baroque, most notably two mythological scenes by Titian and Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia.* Copley frequently visited Smibert's studio and would have drawn much from these copies. Even though first-hand knowledge of Copley's sources is scarce, the artist would have had

plentiful access to a number of sources on which to draw.

John Singleton Copley's *Boy with a Squirrel* existed in a period which consumerism helped to alleviate status-related anxiety in the colonies. The disconnect from English culture and the distance from the centuries-long codified classifications of class fueled this anxiety, but also in part pushed the colonists to seek their own system of classifications and their own system of government. Instead of relying on the rituals of England to Anglicize their identities, the 1760s saw Americas begin the process of making their own cultural rituals, starting with the performance of civic responsibilities required by republicanism.

Consumerism and Anglicization were at odds in republican print culture, thus leading to further anxiety about status, identity, and cultural membership. Achieving status through the public performance of Englishness had its roots in colonization, whereas the participation within republican discourse has its roots in the movement toward American independence. For the republican public in mid-1760s, the emergence of the public self led to the rejection of membership within the British Empire, but their simultaneous consumption of material goods paradoxically confirmed membership. The men who exercised their republican citizenship through public debate were the same men who also upheld their social standing through the adherence to the system that republicanism cast off in the move toward the Revolution. The nonimportation

movement and the Stamp Acts would eventually address the conflict in the goals of public personhood later in 1760s, but the moment in which *Boy with a Squirrel* came into existence saw contradictory applications of the same system.

Republican portraiture would eventually develop to mend the gap between visual and written presentations of the public self. After situating *Boy with a Squirrel* in fading system of Anglicization, the logic next step comes from examining how *Boy with a Squirrel* fits into the transition into republican portraiture.

When John Singleton Copley handed over *Boy with a Squirrel* to ship it across the Atlantic, he send with it his aspirations of being an academic artists and his anxieties about his belonging in that group given his status as an artist in the colonies. He captured those aspirations and anxieties in his brushstrokes, attempting to connect the two via his use of Anglicizing conceits of painting. The concerns encapsulated in the portrait mirror the pervasiveness of anxiety in the colonies and render *Boy with a Squirrel* an emblem for the colonial American conception of status and its relationship to portraiture.

Tables

Table 1. Art Theory Texts in Copley's Letter and Their Years Documented in the American Colonies and in Boston

Author	Text	Year Translated	Year First Documented in the American Colonies	Year First Documented in Boston	Mentioned by Copley
Algarotti	*An Essay on Painting* (1762)	1764	1765	1766	1766
De Piles	*The Principles of Paintings* (1708)	1743	1770	1772	1771
De Piles	*The Art of Painting and the Lives of Painters* (1699)	1706	1761	1761	1771
Du Fresnoy	*De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting* (1668)	1695	1757	1766	1771
Walpole	*Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762)	n/a	1773	1773	1771
Webb	*An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* (1762)	n/a	1760	1766	1775

Table 2. Art Theory Texts Available in Boston before 1766 and Available in the Colonies before 1765

Author	Text	Year First Documented in the American Colonies	Year First Documented in Boston
Bowles	*The Art of Painting in Water-Colours* ([2nd ed., 1775)	1731 (NYC)	1766 (Mein)
Burke	*A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757)	1760 (Phil.)	1766 (Mein)
Dossie	Robert Dossie, *The Handmaid to the Arts…* (1758)	1760 (Phil.)	1765
Dubos	*Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting, and Music* (1719, trans 1748)	1766 (Bos.)	1766 (Mein)
Hogarth	*Analysis of Beauty* (1753)	1758 (NYC)	1760
Kames	*Elements of Criticism* (1762)	1766 (Bos.)	1766
Salmon	*Polygraphice; or the Art of Drawing…* (1672)	1719 (Bos.)	1719
Shaftesbury	*Characteristicks of Men…*(1713)	1744 (Phil.)	1765
Smith	*The Art of Painting in Oyl* (1676)	1766 (Bos.)	1766

Table 3. Works by or after European Artists in the Studio of John Smibert

Artist	Work	Copy/Original	Documentation
Brueghel (?)	Scene of a Dutch Ferry	Painting (poss original)	Sold to Trumbull in 1778, possible purchased from Arthur Pond
Michelangelo	Unknown (Prints)	Reproductive engraving	May 1735 advertisement by Smibert
Poussin, Nicolas	*Continence of Scipio*	Copy by Smibert (Bowdoin College Museum of Art)	1774 letter by Dr. Alexander Hamilton
Poussin, Nicolas	Unknown (Prints)	Reproductive engraving	May 1735 advertisement by Smibert
Raphael	Unknown (Prints)	Reproductive engraving	May 1735 advertisement by Smibert
Raphael	*Madonna della Sedia*	Copy by Smibert	Observed by Trumbull in 1779
Rubens	Unknown (Prints)	Reproductive engraving	May 1735 advertisement by Smibert
Tintoretto, Jacopo	*Luigi Coronado*	Copy	In Bowdoin College Museum of Art
Titian	*Venus Blinding Cupid*	Copy	Copy of Smibert's copy in Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Trumbull mentions making a copy in his youth
Titian	*Danaë and the Golden Shower*	Copy	In Bowdoin College Museum of Art, sold in late 19th century; mentioned in a letter by Copley in 1775
Unknown	Plaster bust of Allan Ramsay		Letter from Thomas Moffatt to Williams Smibert
Unknown	Plaster Bust of *Venus de Medici*		Letter from Thomas Moffatt to Williams Smibert
Unknown	*Hector and Andromache*	Copy?	Exists in private collection and signed
Unknown	Plaster Statue of William Shakespeare		Letter from Thomas Moffatt to Williams Smibert
Van Dyck, Anthony	Unknown portrait of a boy	Copy by Smibert	Sold to Trumbull in 1778

Van Dyck, Anthony	Unknown portrait of 2 boys (*Charles and James II*?)	Copy by Smibert	Sold to Trumbull in 1778
Van Dyck, Anthony	*Cardinal Bentivoglio*	Copy by Smibert	In Harvard Museum of Art; sold to Trumbull in 1778
Van Dyck, Anthony	*Jean de Montfort*	Copy	In Bowdoin College Museum of Art
Van Poelenburgh, Cornelius	Landscape	Painting (poss original)	Sold to Trumbull in 1778, possible purchased from Arthur Pond

Figures

Figure 1 John Singleton Copley, *Boy with a Squirrel,* 1765. Oil on canvas, 76.8 x 63.5 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 2 John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of the Artist,* 1769. Pastel on paper mounted on canvas, 60.3 x 44.5 cm, Winterthur Museum, Delaware

Figure 3 John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of the Artist's Wife (Susanna Clarke),* 1769. Pastel on paper mounted on canvas, 58.7 x 43.8 cm, Winterthur Museum, Delaware

Figure 4 John Singleton Copley, *Nicholas Boylston*, 1767. Oil on canvas, 127.6 x 102.2, Harvard Museum Portrait Collection

Figure 5 John Singleton Copley, *Mary and Elizabeth Royall,* c. 1758. Oil on canvas, 146 x 121.9 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 6 (left) Unknown Artist, *Portrait of a De Peyster Boy with a Deer,* 1730-35. Oil on canvas, 127.6 x 104.1 cm, Inventories of American Painting and Sculpture, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.

Figure 7 (right) Unknown Artist, *John van Cortlandt*, c. 1731. Oil on canvas, 144.7 x 105.6 cm, Brooklyn Museum

Figure 8 John Smith after Sir Godfrey Kneller, *The Lord Buckhurst and Lady Mary Sackville his Sister,* 1695. Mezzotint, *41.9 x 25.4.*

Figure 9 John Singleton Copley, *Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers,* 1763. Oil on Canvas, 126.7 x 101.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 10 James MacArdell after Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Lady Caroline Spencer (née Russell), Duchess of Marlborough,* 1759-1762. Mezzotint, 37.5 x 26 cm

Figure 11 John Smibert after Nicolo Poussin, *Continence of Scipio*, 1719-1722. Oil on canvas, 116.21 cm x 159.07 cm, Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, ME

Figure 12 Raphael Sanzio, *Madonna della Sedia,* 1514. Oil on wood, diameter 71 cm, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

Figure 13 John Smibert after Anthony van Dyck, *Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio*, Oil on canvas, Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard Univeristy, Cambridge, MA

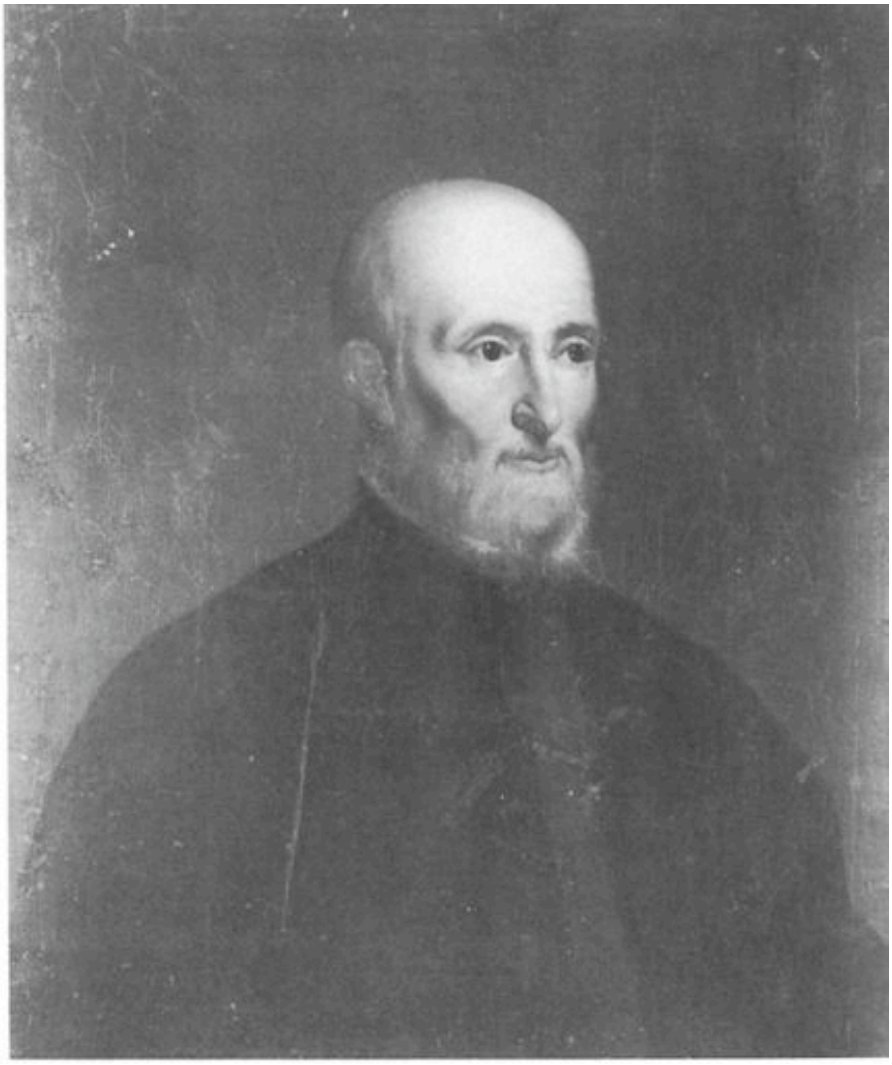

Figure 14 John Smibert after Jacopo Tintoretto, *Luigi Cornado*. Bowdoin College Museum of Art.

Figure 15 John Smibert after Anthony van Dyck, *Jean de Montfort*. Oil on canvas, Bowdoin College Museum of Art

Figure 16 Titian, *Danaë and the Golden Shower with Eros,* 1545-1546. Oil on canvas, 120 × 172 cm, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

Figure 17 Titian, *Venus Blinding Cupid,* 1565. Oil on canvas, Galleria Borghese, Rome

Fig 18 (Copy after) John Smibert, after Titian, *Cupid Blinding Venus,* after 1790?. Oil on canvas, Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, ME

Figure 19 John Smibert (? or Alessandro Magnasco), 1719-1722. Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, ME

Figure 20 Venus de' Medici

Figure 21 Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, *The House of Cards,* 1736-37. Oil on canvas, 60.3 x 71.8, National Gallery, London

Figure 22 Andrea del Verrocchio and Leonardo da Vinci, *Baptism of Christ,* c. 1492. Oil on panel, 177 × 151 cm, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Figure 23 Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, 1595. Oil on canvas, 94 cm x 119 cm. Hermitage College, St. Petersburg, Russia

Figure 24 Leonardo da Vinci, *Lady with an Ermine (Cecilia Gallerani)*, 1483-1490. Oil and tempera on panel, 40.3 × 54.8 cm, Czartoryski Museum, Cracow

Figure 25 Hans Holbein, *Lady with a Squirrel*, 1527-1528. Oil on panel, 56 x 38.8 cm, National Gallery, London

Figure 26 William Williams, *Deborah Hall,* 1766. Oil on canvas, 181.3 x 117.8 cm, Brooklyn Museum, New York

Figure 27 Nathaniel Hurd, *Britons Behold the Best of Kings*, 1762. Colored engraving, 10.16 x 12.7, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester

Figure 28 Titian, *Self Portrait,* 1567. Oil on canvas, 86 cm × 65 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid

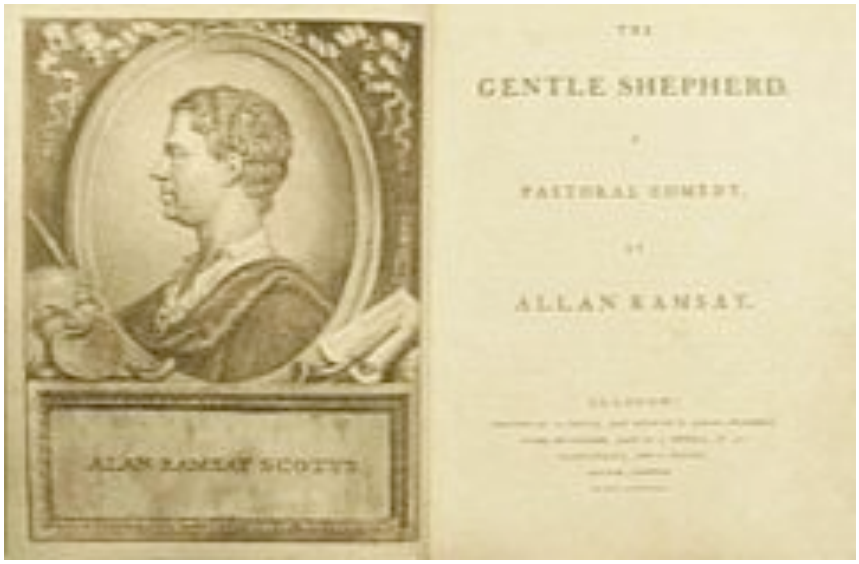

Figure 29 Frontispiece for Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, engraving by David Allen after a c. 1740 drawing by Allan Ramsay Jr. Glasgow: Foulis Press, 1788

Figure 30 Godfried Kneller, *Alexander Pope,* 1740-50

Figure 31 William Hogarth, *Self Portrait,* 1757. Oil on canvas, 45 cm x 42.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery

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